

the ARMENIAN

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ARMENIA
HER
CULTURE
AND
ASPIRATIONS

ARTICLES,
SHORT STORIES,
POETRY — ALL
OF LASTING VALUE

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AUTUMN, 1958

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Review

VOLUME ELEVEN, NUMBER 2-43 • AUTUMN, NOVEMBER, 1958

● AFOUL OF THE LAW:

CRIME IN SOVIET ARMENIA

EDWARD ALEXANDER



Late in 1956 a delegation of American businessmen visiting the Soviet Union were told by Anastas Mikoyan in an interview at the Kremlin that crime, and in consequence the number of prisoners in Soviet jails, was steadily declining. Three weeks earlier, *Izvestia* had given unusually large space to the same infrequently-discussed subject, announcing that no new jails were being built because crime was on the wane. Curiously enough, both these statements coincided with a noticeable upsurge in criminal activity in Mikoyan's home republic of Soviet Armenia.

Earlier in the same year, this Caucasian republic had been opened again to western non-communist visitors. American, European and Asian diplomats, journalists and visiting delegations traveled to Eriwan and witnessed conditions in the capital. They observed the construction of new government buildings and the architectural facade of Lenin Square in the heart of the city. But they also looked beyond, and in statements made upon exit from the country attested the woeful inadequacy of housing, the primitive plumbing and dearth of consumer goods. One prominent guest,

French foreign minister Christian Pineau, from the minute he landed at the Erivan airport until he left the following day was besieged by French-Armenians pleading for repatriation. If, modern criminology notwithstanding, communist doctrine is to be believed, namely that crime is born of economic deprivation, the high incidence of crime in Armenia in 1955 and 1956 presented a thorny problem for communist apologists. For in that period the countless instances of 'violation of socialist legality' reached a point of saturation wherein they had to be treated in the local press. Three reasons were offered by soviet propagandists for this phenomenon. The first attempted to lay blame on individuals 'in whose mind there exists remnants of the capitalism of the past,'¹ ignoring apparently the fact that most of the law-breakers were born after the Soviet takeover of Armenia in 1921. A second cause was sought in the prevalence of alcoholism in Armenia, which often led to criminal acts. And finally, an effort was made to explain this outbreak by a high degree of recidivism, dating back to 1953.

On March 27 of that year the Supreme Soviet issued a decree of amnesty throughout the USSR ordering that all people should be returned to work who had at one time or another violated the law and had never been properly re-educated. The amnesty was announced only three weeks after Stalin's death and was interpreted to be an attempt by Lavrenti Beria, still alive at the time, to undo some of the abuses of the dead dictator. The amnesty, specifically stating that it did not apply to 'counter-revolutionaries,' i.e. political prisoners, granted a pardon to economic criminals, military criminals, pregnant women, wo-

men with children up to 10 years of age, women over 50, men over 55 and children up to 18 years of age. The amnesty itself, in specifying the precise terms of pardon and those affected, thus confirmed once again to what degree the people of the Soviet Union had been subject to the excesses of a tyrant and to the system to which he had made so large a contribution. It must be accepted as inevitable, however, that some of those released by this decree would again turn to criminal ways, and indeed, as some of the accounts of lawlessness examined indicate, there was considerable recidivism. But this can to no large degree offer adequate explanation for their number or nature.

In fact, by their own admission, Soviet newspapers have been compelled to admit that drunkenness is a leading factor in a majority of cases. The official paper of the Armenian SSR, writes: 'In recent years drunkenness has become so widespread as to affect work discipline, the general well-being and the foundations of the Soviet family. This is a scandalous remnant of capitalism.'² Coupled with such sweeping statements have been condemnation of various elements of Soviet society for laxity in combatting the influence of drink. In a number of newspaper pieces, constituting a veritable crusade against alcohol, editors themselves have been attacked for permitting liquor advertisements in their pages, while the prevalence of colorful liquor posters in the streets has been denounced as leading to 'immoral and degrading incidents.' Even editors on occasion vented their anger on poets and writers for openly encouraging the imbibing of alcohol. One unnamed Armenian poet was verbally trounced for writing - 'Oh, to be drunk all night!' Another for expressing the desire that Lake Sevan be transformed into

¹ This phrase can be found in many articles in Soviet newspapers.

²Sovyetakan Hayastan, Sept. 9, 1954.

wine. The well-known poet Kevork Emin—currently a leader in the liberalization of poetry in Armenia—was attacked for citing as an example of the friendship of peoples the fact that Moldavians have gotten drunk on Armenian sour wine. The poet Markarian was quoted as having written in a piece of verse entitled 'The Market of Eriwan'—obviously concerning students:

*'Bring me a jug
Of maddening wine
A fit of fun
Has seized us today.
We've taken our exams
And gotten our stipend
Give us a jug
Of maddening wine. . .'*

That Armenian youth is not completely fulfilling the promise of communist indoctrination is attested by the fact that in 1954, 80% of the unlawful acts stemming from drunkenness were committed by men between the ages of 18 and 40. Colorful descriptions of the activities of these inebriates are often to be found in the pages of otherwise often dull newspapers. For instance, every Sunday excursions are arranged for workers from Eriwan to outlying areas such as Lake Sevan, Dilijan and elsewhere. The outcome of some of these excursions is typified in the following incident. In May 1954, the head of one department of the Eriwan Electric Machine Manufacturing Factory, one Mgrtchian took 16 workers to Arzni. Mgrtchian, a party member incidentally, and his crew proceeded to get drunk and remained so the entire day. At Arzni, they started a fight with some locals, eventually drawing knives which led to a free-for-all. Two people were seriously wounded and three others badly cut up. As the foregoing implies, this type of unrestraint is not limited to workers. In Etchmiadzin, for instance,

during the same month, three Armenian Communist Party agitators, having completed their lectures, left the hall and had a few drinks. Their action was noted and censured by the wall newspaper of the local kolkhoz in the form of a caricature and a satirical poem. Communist officials fearing party wrath tore up the newspaper and removed the responsible authors from their jobs. The upshot of this particular episode was that the Party gave the guilty agitators and the 'suppressors of criticism' both a scolding.

The Soviet press, as seen, does not hesitate to hold up an individual to public ridicule and scorn for any shortcomings. The following cases indicate how destructive the press can be to a man's career without apparently attempting to get at the genuine causes of human failings. In the Kirovakan Chemical Combine a Russian engineer-mechanic named Pirogov was accused of systematically indulging in drink, coming to work drunk and perpetually instigating fights with his subordinates. On one occasion the Combine's chief medical officer, a Dr. Pejanjian, when called to administer to Pirogov who had been absent for three days because of inebriation, diagnosed his condition as 'alcoholic.' Pejanjian was castigated for this on the grounds strange to say, that in medical science there is no such thing as alcoholism! Somewhat later, Pirogov badly beat up one of his employees. To escape punishment he immediately departed for Eriwan allegedly, the report says, for a cure. This was confirmed by letters in his possession signed, it must be noted, by the factory director and the secretary of the local party committee. That he enjoyed the personal favor of these influential people is apparent and bespeaks to some degree his professional ability. But as to the further fortunes of the unhappy Pirogov, there is no further word.

A superficial analysis of alcoholism is brought to bear in the following account. In Alaverdi, the copper center of Armenia, drunkards are said to fall into two categories: noisy ones and quiet ones. The latter are personified in the assistant chief of the technical department of the Copper Combine, Communist Party member Misha Jamalian. On several occasions he had been removed from his job because of drink but apparently has never learned from his mistakes. He is said to be not troublesome, but takes no money home, spending it all on liquor. The noisy, restless drunkards are represented by Vasil Piroozian and Piotr Kharidnov. Piroozian, who works in the Lenin Copper Mines, is constantly drunk. He is the type that screams profanity at his fellow workers, and even when sober will not let matters be and disseminates slander concerning his colleagues. His partner Kharidonov, not to be outdone, is charged with having even invented a new drink called 'Kharidonovian Beer.' (It is pointed out derisively by the newspaper that this 'new' drink is nothing more than a mixture of beer and air.) Kharidonov imbibes heavily of his concoction, comes out into the street and engages in acts of hooliganism — a term used loosely in the Soviet Union to cover a wide variety of misdemeanors of a non-criminal nature. Once, Kharidonov, under the influence of alcohol, tried to strangle a female passer-by, who was saved by the intervention of a militiaman. Piroozian and Kharidonov were eventually both expelled from the party.

Some of the cases cited involved only rank and file members of the Communist Party, but alcoholism evidently is taking its toll in the higher echelons as well. The following are among the many charged in the pages of the Armenian newspapers with being alcoholics: the Public Prosecutor of Stepanavan, officials of the militia, the

director of the No. 1 Restaurant and the Secretary of the Party Barbers Collective of Leninakan.

Alcoholism by itself, of course, is not considered a misdemeanor in any society. In the communist state, however, where lateness for work and absenteeism may seriously obstruct the fulfillment of norms and thus disrupt the whole economy, the authorities do not hesitate to denounce alcoholism in the sternest tones, as witnessed in some of the preceding cases. But a more serious and direct aspect of alcoholism confronts Soviet society in the commission of crimes by inebriates. On January 11, 1956, for instance, Hrachia (nicknamed Booboo) Danielian of Azadavan became drunk in the railroad station at Ardashad and picked a fight with a number of others standing nearby. He attacked several and beat them up. Some citizens intervened and succeeded in taking him outside, but Danielian was not pacified and that night lay in waiting for the group when it returned to the village by car. He attacked them again, this time with a knife, killing one and seriously wounding the others, including several peasants who tried to stop him. He was later caught, tried, his appeal rejected by the Collegium of the Criminal Affairs Division of the Armenian Supreme Court, and shot.³ A similar case involving Russians only has still another curious aspect to it. In June of 1955, two Russians, both pardoned by the 1953 amnesty of their earlier crime of robbery and attempted murder, in company with two other Russians got very drunk in Alaverdi and in the street engaged in an attack 'on several personal enemies.' Wielding daggers, knives and stone weights stolen from a nearby store, this group of four killed three and seriously wounded

³ Ibid. July 24, 1956.

three others. The leader of the group of four was condemned to death and the Supreme Court upheld this verdict, while commuting the death sentence for two others to 25 years imprisonment. (The fourth got six years.)⁴ The interesting part of this case is not only the fact that some street brawls in Armenia involve as many as ten people, but that three people were killed and three others badly hurt without any apparent provocation other than that they were 'personal enemies.' Such hostile relations are implied in many of the accounts of criminal acts in Armenia. One Albert (nickname Blind Ape) Hovanessian of Leninakan went into town one night and was loafing with some of his girl friends on a corner. A local cashier named Aslanian was passing by when Blind Ape suddenly attacked him spewing profanity. They were parted by passing citizens but evidently Ape, true to his name, was blind with rage. He again hurled himself on the unfortunate cashier, and they were parted a second time. A third attack proved fatal, for Ape seized a club and smashed it in the cashier's head. He was tried and executed for murder.⁵ From the facts as presented there was no evidence of drunkenness or of robbery. The motives were purely personal and whether the cashier made a chance remark or whether the causes dated back to some earlier relationship between the two, it is evident that the criminal acted with a fury considerable enough to kill, moreover in the presence of a number of witnesses. Still another incident of this type occurred on a summer evening around 7 PM in Eriwan. Citizen Kehyan met up with citizen Kocharian and, for reasons unknown to the court which later tried the case, picked a fight with him, shouting and cursing at the same time. Passersby separat-

ed them but Kehyan was not satisfied. One and half hours later he got drunk and suddenly in the street again met up with Kocharian. The latter tried to lose his persecutor but Kehyan followed him employing 'extremely obscene language.' Then in the presence of a crowd which had gathered, he leaped on Kocharian. Members of the crowd then attempted to pull him off, but Kehyan drew a long sword-like metallic instrument and struck wildly at everyone who approached, ripping the clothes of one and tearing the hand of another. Finally with several powerful thrusts, he stabbed his victim in the breast, killing him. Kehyan received the extreme penalty.

These last few cases appear to be spontaneous acts of crime. But premeditated crime, in many cases carefully planned operations involving theft and murder, are widely evident as well. Through his former wife, Vachig Kevorkian of Ardashad cultivated the friendship of a frequent visitor to Eriwan, a certain Melchanov of Krasnodar. On several occasions he had come to Eriwan to make purchases and had been entertained by Kevorkian, who also advised him on his business there. On the Russian's last visit, Kevorkian, on some pretext persuaded Melchanov to accompany him back to his village of Azadavan. Alone with his victim, and taking advantage of his advanced years Kevorkian struck him a fatal blow on the head with a hammer, then stole 10,800 rubles from the deceased. He buried the corpse in his private plot. The authorities investigated and dug up the body. Confronted with the evidence, Kevorkian confessed before the trial and was shot.⁶

In the following case the plans were of not such long standing. Several hoodlums

⁴ Ibid. July 29, 1956.

⁵ Ibid. Aug. 23, 1956.

⁶ Ibid. Sept. 20, 1956.

⁷ Ibid. Sept. 16, 1956.

with previous criminal records, led by Lazar (nickname Rashid) Balabekian, followed the cashier of a sawmill in Sevkar to the Ichevan Bank, where he had gone to withdraw 68,000. The bandits offered him a ride back to Sevkar in the Moskovich car belonging to one of them. On the road they stopped the car, seized him and Balabekian fired two shots from his pistol killing the cashier. They then drove to a pond, took the large amount of money from his person and threw him in. When they were eventually caught, Balabekian was condemned to death, and the others to 25 years.⁸

Another incident in which a car played a vital role transpired in 1957. Three young men with shady pasts befriended a fourth who owned a Pobeda, intending thereby to expand the scope of their operations. They drove to the village of Yeghvart (in Ashdarag) in order to rob the village cooperative store. They opened fire with their guns on the sentry house, shattering the windows. The guard responded by firing back with a double-barrelled shotgun, seriously injuring one of the bandits. He was helped into the car but died on the way. When caught the bandits received penalties ranging from 10 to 25 years imprisonment on charges of attempting to steal state property. The Pobeda was confiscated by the state.⁹

Not all of the criminals who employ automobiles in their operations actually own them, however. In the winter of 1955 four hoodlums, two of them freed by the 1953 amnesty, stole the Pobeda car of a Eriwan resident at the point of a gun. They drove into Soviet Georgia and in Tbilisi attacked a chauffeur, stealing his wristwatch and 1,025 rubles. On the road to Ghazakh (this gang operated in three Soviet republics),

they met an Azerbaijani who resisted their attempts to rob him. Whereupon the ring-leader, Aseyan, killed him with a Finnish (!) knife. They took from him 2,100 rubles and threw his body from the car. They were seized in Ghazakh, tried and Asoyan executed, while the others got from 16 to 20 years in a corrective labor camp.¹⁰

The frequency of pardoned criminals again falling back on former ways is apparently high in Soviet Armenia, many of them, as been noted, sporting nicknames. Karlen Barsamian, for instance, known to his colleagues as Chine, had been twice imprisoned for burglary when he was freed by the 1953 amnesty. But in 1955 he and an accomplice burgled an apartment. When its occupant awoke and made an outcry, Barsamian killed him with a knife. This third offense proved to be his last. He was tried and executed.¹¹

Sexual crimes are not treated widely in the press but are not completely absent from it either. (Prostitution had never been mentioned in the Soviet press until February of this year when the trade union organ *Trud* became the first to deal with this problem, calling for an approach open, severe and devoid of hypocrisy.) One of the few accounts of sexual assault took place in the summer of 1955. Mikhail (Misha) Torossian, convicted once before in 1953 in Tbilisi for theft, formed a gang with three others. On July 4, the three newcomers confronted an Armenian woman in a field with knives, and thus threatening her, all raped the woman and stole her money. Three weeks later, led by Torossian this time, they stopped two women returning from the Eriwan Airport, raped them in turn and then robbed them of their money. On the same date, at midnight, they attacked another woman and raped

⁸ Ibid. Dec. 22, 1956.

⁹ Ibid. April 10, 1957.

¹⁰ Ibid. July 6, 1956.

¹¹ Ibid. June 5, 1956.

her too. When caught and tried Torossian received 20 years, the rest sentences ranging from seven to fifteen years, all at hard labor.¹²

One other press account of this type of crime involved attempted rape tangentially, for the larger implications of the case proved to be one of the most sensational in Armenia, and attracted wide attention even in the west. This was the famous soccer riot at the Republic Stadium on October 12, 1955. The local Eriwan Spartak was matched against the visiting Sverdlovsk Officers' Club for the Class B championship of the Soviet Union. With so much at stake, the Armenian spectators were reportedly displeased at the outcome of the game — a victory for the Russians. 'Hooligans and criminal elements' were charged with initiating disturbances during which they attempted to lynch the referee and stoned the militia. Other spectators soon joined in whereupon a melee ensued. Specific individuals were singled out as ring-leaders and during the trial the next month the state prosecutor charged that of the twelve in the dock, nine had previous offenses. Of these, five were further accused of having attempted rape on a girl they had tricked into taking a ride with them in their Moskovich car near Lake Sevan, but passing militiamen from Dilijan had intervened and all were arrested.

The soccer riot aroused considerable interest not only because of its scope but even more because of the severity of the penalties. No one was charged with anything more serious than instigating a riot and injuring persons. But the verdicts which were handed down by the Collegium of the Supreme Court were the equivalent of those given persons committing major crimes. Four received imprisonment of 25

years, while the sentences of the others ranged from 20 and 15, down to 10 years for three others. Conjecture ran high at the time as to the exact nature of the riots which could prompt such sternness from the courts. One popular interpretation saw in the case an irrepressible instance of anti-Russian feeling in Armenia. Although there were a number of Western Armenian visitors in the country at the time as delegates to the election of a new Armenian Catholicos, unfortunately none of these was willing to expand at length on the details as announced by the Armenian authorities. One such delegate, however, did imply that there was more in the riot than met the eye. Passing through Cairo on his way home to London, an Armenian merchant named Sarkis Kurkjian made the following remarks:

'I was present at the contest. I am an old athlete and know the rules of the game very well. The Russian referee was unjust at the end of the game. In his decision he was either mistaken or pretended he did not see what happened. The people did not tolerate it and rushed toward the referee; shortly thereafter the thing broke into an uproar. At 6 PM some us from the outside world left the field and went home. Thinking we were Russians some tried to stone us, but when they saw the Armenian clergymen accompanying us they desisted. The following day I heard that four people were killed, one of them a policeman. The referee was also critically injured. As you see, the incident was deeper than a violation of the rules of the game.'¹³

These comments lend credence to the view that an undercurrent of anti-Russian feeling existed and certainly do not support the court's charges that 'hooliganism' was to blame.

If incidents such as the Eriwan soccer riot call for severe penalties owing to causes more irritating to the communist state than mere lawlessness, the same may be said

¹² Ibid. Dec. 23, 1955.

¹³ Housaper, Jan. 7, 1956.

concerning speculation, a widespread activity not only in Armenia but throughout the Soviet Union. For the essence of speculation — that is, buying and selling for gain — strikes at the very core of Marxist theory which has been seeking since the establishment of Soviet authority to eliminate the profit motive from people's minds. Even more, it is a leaf out of the book of capitalism. Most of the common cases of speculation take place in the markets of the larger cities. These dealings actually supply the population with much-needed goods otherwise not available and may explain why the police very often, as will be seen, do not intervene. One speculator is singled out in a press account attacking a number of them. His name is Hagop Harootyunian, age 43, 'one of the most famous people at the market.' The newspaper goes on: "Ask him where he got this or that produce and he will look at you and reply — 'What do you mean from where, from my own garden of course.' He is lying because he is living off the fruits of another's labor. Not only is he no collective farmer, but he lives at No. 78 Mikoyan Street in an apartment."¹⁴

This case as well as many others which could be cited indicates that not only is there what might be termed 'organized crime,' but even outlets for stolen property, called 'fences' in the west. This man, certainly known to the police, apparently is a danger to no one and merely the front man for some other group which shares the profits. The fact that he continues to operate may indicate some laxity on the part of state organs to prosecute, whereas party organs, such as the press, find it intolerable for ideological reasons. The following would seem to bear this out.

At the center of the No. 2 Market in

Eriwan, and incidentally about 100 feet from the Eighth District Police Station, are some empty boxes. On one of them is seated Harootyun Khatchtrian, convicted several times of various infractions of the law. (A photo of him accompanies the story.) On the other boxes are all shapes and varieties of hats. He and his brother Hovaness engage in selling these hats while both of them are in a drunken state the entire day. In this condition they force passersby to buy their hats without punishment. The paper writes: "The militia has tried to stop them several times but when we asked them about it they said, throwing up their hands in despair—'What can we do? Harootyun is a nervous man. We have concerned ourselves with him so often that now we only have but to hear his name and we too get nervous!' We regard the nerves of our comrades in the militia as being very weak indeed to allow these two to continue," the paper commented. Another instance of the same thing, but aimed at higher authority is revealed in an account of shoe speculators at the No 8 Eriwan Market. Every Sunday, the paper reports, they gather there and "never once have the militia called these people in to ask where they get such shoes when not a single store in Eriwan is selling them." The newspaper then becomes very assertive: "It is not our job to prosecute, but only to point out. But we hope that the Prosecutor will believe this photograph (of the shoe speculators). He is always asking for factual evidence. We ask him: Is it necessary to be so particular about evidence towards speculators, cheats and indecent people? Here clearly stated is an admission of indifference on the part of the state organs of justice.

An outstanding case involving both speculation and exceptional leniency by a Peoples Court in Armenia is described in a

¹⁴ Sovyetakan Hayastan, Sept. 23, 1956

long article representing a plea for higher standards of justice. An Armenian named Garabedian, allegedly convicted earlier on several occasions, was brought to trial for buying and selling a Pobeda car, a transaction that netted him a profit of 18,500 rubles. Despite the evidence presented at the Mikoyan District Peoples Court in Eriwan, he was found not guilty. The decision was later reversed and the entire court reprimanded and disciplined.¹⁵ It is pointed out in the press account of this trial that similar miscarriages of justice have been meted out by the score.'

The courts have come under attack a number of times in the press for a variety of reasons: violation of Soviet laws by the Peoples Courts, mild sentences, and long delays in the examination of cases. In one case, the accused were not arrested at the time charges were brought, and the case took so long in coming to trial that one of them disappeared while the other two committed new crimes. The amount of work confronting the courts can be seen in the following: in the Department of Special Cases of Armenia, by November 1955 there were still 190 cases not even processed, of which 34 had been pending since February and 35 since March. In the same department, 200 cases awaiting decisions had piled up, 23 from January and 92 from February.¹⁶

That the press spares no one in condemning crime is evident in the manner of its presentation. As indicated earlier, very often photographs accompany some of the articles dealing with some aspect of crime. Last year a new technique came to the fore. Under the large caption 'Pitiful Figures' appear several individuals with the admonition, See Them, Know Them, Combat

Them. This format has already been repeated a number of times. Each photograph carries beneath it the account of that person's activities. He is usually 'exposed' rather than charged with a crime, although both may be the case. The journalistic aspect of this phenomenon is interesting however for in the west some of the descriptive statements would most assuredly be held libelous. For instance, Sarkis Simonian, known as Ske: 'He is a professional thief. Look at his coarse, wild, unfeeling face. The likes of him are an infection, a weed.'¹⁷

One final example of this technique is given here in full as an instance of what is termed in the west 'juvenile delinquency,' and by the Soviet press as 'hooliganism.'

Certainly, the teen-agers described in the following are not criminals, nor is what they did dictated by economic need, nor for that matter is it limited to the Soviet Union. Schoolboy pranks are universal. Yet, the three youths in question were given the same publicity as hardened criminals. The story is given here as it appeared in *Sovyetakan Hayastan* to emphasize again the wide abyss that separates the Soviet press from its counterparts in the free world. A photograph of the accused three shows them seated with heads hanging under the caption — They Are Ashamed To Look People In The Face. The story follows:

"Look at them. They sit with heads hanging, ashamed to look people in the face. 'Tell me about it,' they are told by Militia Representative Mardirossian of the Seventh District Police Station. Silence. The question is repeated. The clock on the wall shows 1 AM.

"A chill wind blows through the open window of the sentry room, but for these youths it is very warm and they must open the buttons of their shirts. An oppressive

¹⁵ The Peoples Court is presided over by three judges. The system does not exist in the USSR.

¹⁶ Sovyetakan Hayastan — January 8, 1956.

¹⁷ Ibid. Aug. 31, 1956.

silence, but eventually these youths, just out of their teens, finally confess. On the night of Sept. 12, they entered the garden of the house at No. 32 Plekhanov Street and wastefully breaking branches stole some peaches. They were caught in the act and brought here to the police station. The damage they caused was not great. But is that really the question here? The important thing is not what was stolen or its value but that these youths have fallen into hooliganism. The reader will become more indignant when he discovers who these people really are.

"The one in the center is Seryoja Hovagimian, born in 1937 in Nor Bayazet, where his father is a bookkeeper in the theatre. His parents had raised him with the best hopes for the future. Seryoja grew up graduated from the intermediate school, was accepted into the Komsomol and at present is studying geology at Erivan State University. Is the University perhaps interested in how these Komsomols behave outside the classroom? If not, they should look into it. They will learn much.

"Eddie Manoogian on the right is 17 years old and is in the ninth grade of School No. 28. His father is a chauffeur, his mother a nurse at No. 2 hospital. Eddie's father, his hat twisted in his hand, said to the militia — 'I am so ashamed as to want to disappear from this earth. There is so much fruit at home. Why would he want to do such a thing?'

"Henry Melkonian, 17, lives at No. 64 Moscovian St. He is employed as a shoemaker at the Ergosh Artel. He has his own income already for this youngster is a worker. Could he enjoy being taken to the militia as a hooligan? The Artel should preoccupy itself with the re-education of this youth."¹⁸

¹⁸ Ibid. Sept. 14, 1956.

Exactly four months after these youths were exposed in this manner, the Presidium of the Armenian Supreme Soviet issued a decree on January 14, 1957 concerning 'minor acts of hooliganism.' Explaining that until then the law did not provide punishment for minor offenses such as violating peace and public order, making rude remarks and using execrable language, the decree ordered detention from three to fifteen days and hard labor.

That crime does exist in Armenia and on a recurring basis is evidenced by this study of court cases in the Soviet press. It is significant that the Armenian people must so frequently chance multiplying their misfortunes by running afoul of the law. For the facts as drawn solely from Soviet sources indicate that the citizens of Soviet Armenia commit the same crimes as those of countries living under other systems, that these crimes are to a great degree motivated by the desire to acquire the property of others, and when not so motivated seem to be caused by intense personal animosity. Their nature and scope cannot but help refute the Soviet contention that the factors breeding crime have been eliminated in the Soviet Union, at the same time shedding light on the true plight of the Armenian economy.

● A GREAT ARMENOPHILE:

FRANCIS DEHAUT DE PRESSENSE

MICHAEL VARANDIAN

The savant of the cloister dashed out into the street with the passionate fanaticism of the young agitator and plunged himself into the melee of public meetings. It was the first time he was rubbing elbows with the riffraff and one had a sense of aesthetic contradiction seeing his solemn professor's face and his refined gestures in the bosom of a socialist rabble. In the eyes of the bourgeois-born this was a choking adventure, but for Pressensé it was a supreme enjoyment, for the stakes in the fight was justice itself.

With a magnificent courage he threw

himself into the fiercest and most perilous clashes of the Dreyfus controversy, on several occasions he took part in the public riots and one day he returned home soundly beaten and his spectacles shattered.

The anti-Dreyfus mob was inexorable, the same rabble which shouted death at Zola and at whose face the great novelist once hurled the devastating words, "Vous êtes des cannibales!"

In his lectures, meetings and clashes, Pressensé inseparable companion was a charming youth who, in the latter part of the 90's, was known in Parisian circles as a

NOTE — This article from the pen of Michael Varandian, noted dialectician, theorist and historian of the Armenian Revolution, first appeared in the September, 1923 issue of the Armenian language "Hairenik" Monthly of Boston, ten years after the death of Francis de Pressensé, famous French journalist and public figure and great friend of the Armenian cause. Since then the cause of Armenia's liberation has passed through a series of violent and catastrophic phases and it will be obvious to the reader that a good deal of the impressions and judgements of Michael Varandian, determined as they are by the accumulation of Armenian experience up until that time, are tinged freely with his emotional, as well as subjective reactions. From the standpoint of the publicity of the Armenian cause in the latter part of the 19th and the first part of the 20th centuries, however, this priceless discussion from the pen of the historian of the Armenian Revolution centering on the greatest friends of Armenia and his historical mention of the galaxy of Western friends of Armenia, we think, is highly valuable to an understanding of the hopes, the enthusiasms, the triumphs and the disappointments of the Armenian people in a specific period of their history, as well as a priceless contribution to the future historian who shall attempt to reconstruct the story of the humanitarian response to the Armenian cry during a sensitive period of their national affliction

The Editors

poet. His name was Pierre Quillard. He was better known as a rebellious and daring journalist who wrote for the famous newspaper "Aurore" which had been founded by the old man Vaugan.

The chief pillars of that paper — Clemenceau and Pressensé — were rebels, but even greater rebels were the other two, Pierre Quillard and Urban Cohier.

There had come about between Pressensé and Pierre Quillard a sort of tender father and son relationship which would later grow even fonder around the Aurore and the Armenian Cause. In fact when the fight of free France ended in victory — the vindication of Dreyfus —, when the names of Zola, Jaures, Pressensé, Clemenceau and La Bory were on the lips of living mankind as symbols of eternal justice, and when, a little later, the apostle head of the Armenian movement, the immortal Christopher Michaelian and his colleagues conceived the idea of founding the "Pro-Armenia" and to make Paris the headquarters of Armenian propaganda, the first two men to champion the idea were Quillard and Pressensé.

Quillard and Urban Cohier already had started a fierce campaign in the pages of Aurore against Sultan Hamid about the Armenian massacres. The Turkish Ambassador Munir Bey, speaking in the name of the Sultan, had threatened to sue the two French journalists and the latter, exhilarated by the challenge, had picked up the gauntlet and were making ready, during the forth-coming trial, to produce the damning documents on the Armenian crime and to castigate publicly the "Red Beast" (the expression is Quillard's) and all the authors of the Armenian massacres chief among whom was "Hanoto Pasha." When, however, these plans were disclosed, the Sultan called off his law suit.

Thus they founded the Armeno-French organ for the prosecution of the Armenian cause, supported by the most chivalrous figures of France — Jaures, Anatole France, Pressensé, Quillard, Clemenceau, etc.

The first issue of Pro Armenia prominently featured a magnificent article from the murderous pen of Clemenceau entitled "The Bloody Paw." In another article Pressensé defined the fate of the Armenian people under the beautiful and picturesque English expression: "Between the Devil and the deep Sea." The Sea was Russia, the Devil Turkey — while the Armenian people is eternally swayed between those two formidable elements.

The brunt of the editing was carried by Quillard and Pressensé. For a moment our poor friends had the rosy illusion that they would solve the righteous Armenian case with their noble and manly efforts just as they had solved the complex and painful Dreyfus knot by promoting a sort of world mobilization.

They were mistaken. The Armenian problem proved to be far more complex and insoluble than they thought it would be. And we could plainly see how, in the crucible of perpetual failures, the somber shadow of discouragement sometimes fell on the faces of our most optimistic foreign friends.

The "Pro Armenia" was not a mere newspaper, it was an entire movement. Through it, the Western Bureau of the Armenian Revolutionary Federation established contact with French political leaders, including even the government itself. Through it, magnificent public rallies periodically organized in Paris, addressed by the most authoritative statesmen of France — as well as party leaders, from the socialist Jaures all the way to the liberal D'Estournel de Constant and the rightist Denny Goshen. Through it, many public rallies were staged

also in England, Italy and Belgium — London, Milan, Rome, Brusselles, etc.

It is only fair to commemorate here that the zealous organizer of the countless meetings, conferences and banquet gatherings during those unforgettable hectic days was Dr. Hovhaness Loris-Melikian, the grand cousin of the famous Tsarist General and dictator.

Francis de Pressensé was present in all Armenian meetings, all the rallies, all the banquets and the rendezvous. He was always accompanied by other friends of the Armenian cause. It was he who took Jaures to Brussels in the fall of 1903 to attend an unprecedentedly vigorous international demonstration in behalf of Armenia. Present in this rally were Pierre Quillard and the noted biographer Sevry. Here were George Loran and German, English and Swiss Armenophiles. Here spoke for long hours Pressensé, Quillard, Jaures and others, spurring the world conscience, pressing the need of Armenian reforms, and demanding the emancipation of Turkish Armenia. Never before had so many meetings been staged for an oppressed people, never such torrents of words poured out from so many eloquent lips.

Pressensé was everywhere, and wherever he went he was the soul of all patriotic meetings and demonstration. He took part in all the major pro Armenia meetings in London. He also was slated to come to Vienna and Budapest, the Austro-Hungarian capitals where, in 1902, at behest of the Western ARF Bureau, I had gone to organize "Pro Armenia" branches from members of the Parliament. Some last minute obstacles prevented him from coming and in his stead came Quillard, however, the letters of recommendation which he had obtained from Pressensé opened all the doors before us, even in Turcophile Hungary, and there, in the

Parliament building, a rally was held under the chairmanship of Count Appony, the President of the Parliament, in the presence of many governmental leaders. Here were the Armenian-born member of the cabinet Daniel and his son who was a member of the Parliament, and a number of Armenian-born members of the Hungarian Parliament. A few days later another rally was held, this time much larger, and chiefly attended by the representatives of the press who were told, at some length, the entire tragedy of the Armenian people.

Pressensé ran wherever the imperative voice of duty called him, wherever the mournful and suffering soul of Armenia beckoned to him. Best of all, he was optimistic about our cause. His strong sense of justice told him that the eminently just cause of the Armenian people could not fail to be solved in favor of the Armenian people. This man, who comprehended best the complex nature of the Armenian cause and the opposing interests and the infernal complications associated with it, had boundless faith in the eventual triumph of justice.

Every time I think of Pressensé's unflinching optimism I am reminded of our internal fools who are noted for their hindsight wisdom and their gratuitous prophecies, who arrogantly give advice to Armenian leaders: "You should have known from the start that, by relying on the word of the governments (foreign powers), you would vitiate the Armenian cause and would destroy Armenia. You should have understood!"

These belated advices of our simple Simons are not offered to us alone, but also the likes of Pressensé who, likewise, "could not understand" tens of years ago, even though they were the teachers of international diplomacy.

How many of our distinguished friends

were optimistic at that time, and believed in the imminent solution of the Armenian case! Pressensé was one of these who had a high opinion of the capabilities of our race. He recounted and praised those abilities of the Armenian people in all his lectures, his conversations and published articles.

How could we forget the mammoth meeting in the winter of 1902, held at the Victoria Hall in Geneva. The Executive Body of the Armenian Students Association of Europe — under the leadership of our lamented Aknooni — had invited Pressensé to speak on the Armenian Question. The spacious hall, the largest and the most beautiful in the city, was packed. The arrival of the famous lecturer was a rare event for the populace — Pressensé the victor of the Dreyfus controversy, Pressensé the famous editor of *Temps*, Pressensé the cultured and refined aristocrat who had been baptized a socialist, Pressensé the great publisher of *Aurore* whose articles had nourished the French speaking intellectuals of Switzerland, it was this man who had come to speak about a cause which, to begin with, was so close to the hearts of the Genevans.

That day was a veritable holiday for the intellectuals of Geneva. The entire intelligentia of the city, university professors, editors, lawyers and writers had filled the hall in unusual haste. The rally was presided over by the old Favon, the greatest orator of Geneva and Switzerland and the darling of the Armenian students through whose powerful intercession we had legalized the "Droshag" and the Dashnak press in Geneva ever since 1895. Through him our two leaders in the raid of Bank Ottoman — Armen and Hrack now fugitives in France — succeeded in finding asylum in Geneva in September of 1896.

Favon never refused anything to the

Armenians, and one day he published a lovely article in "Droshag." Ah, melancholy memories of those good old days! They bring tears to the eye.

Favon was the idol of the whole international society of Geneva, he was our professor in the University, Minister of Education, and at the same time the soul and the guiding genius of the reigning radical party. The relentless illness, however, had crushed his giant body and had nailed him down to his bed for quite some time.

We, too, were relentless. To lend greater authority and luster to our meeting in Victoria Hall, together with Aknooni we went to knock at the door of the sick Favon, to ask him to preside over our meeting. His condition was really serious, the doctors had forbidden him to go out, especially in those cold damp winter days. And, despite all, despite the opportunities of his young wife, Favon granted us our request.

It was the Armenian students who were doing the soliciting, and it was Francis de Pressensé who was to speak on Armenia.

He got up from his bed, mounted the carriage and we flew to the hall. A huge multitude had been left out of the hall for lack of seats. And when Favon and Pressensé appeared on the stage, the huge waiting throng hailed the twin friends of the Armenian cause with deafening applause. We were at a loss to know for whom they were applauding loudest, Pressensé? or Favon, who, although sick and lingering at the brink of death, had come to preside over the meeting.

This man who was the ornament of Swiss pulpits, and undoubtedly one of the most eloquent orators of Europe, had not appeared in public for quite some time. His eloquence had a lyric quality which caressed the hearts of even the most sophisticated intellectual and which could yield

only to the violent and stormy shafts of the oratory of a Jaures.

And in fact it was a lyrical heart-rending speech which George Favon delivered that day on Armenia, in his rolling, lachrymose and half-extinguished voice. He was a sublime pile of ruins on that platform, a sublime pile of ruins, tall and powerfully-built, with a leonine head and melancholy gentle eyes.

This great man died a few weeks later and Geneva staged an unprecedentedly grand funeral procession in his honor, marked by the joint delegation of "Droshag" and the Armenian Students Association with their floral wreath. This touching speech delivered at the Victoria Hall was the Swan's Song of Favon, much like Gladstone's Chester Speech in 1895.

We have said that Pressensé loved the Armenian people; he loved them not only for their heroic sufferings but for their heroic fights as well. And here, in his long and erudite speech to which the huge audience of that spacious hall listened with deep and reverential attention, he vigorously portrayed the cultural and fighting qualities of the Armenian people; here, with a youthful zeal and enthusiasm, the greatest statesman and thinker of the world eulogized the Armenian revolutionary, praised Bedros Semerjian and Onnig Torosian who only recently had been sacrificed on the gallows in Adrianopolis for the Armenian cause, and on which occasion the Armenian and Macedonian students had staged a spectacular Memorial service in Geneva, cementing, once again, the Armeno-Macedonian and Armeno-Bulgarian fraternal bond.

I am infinitely distressed that this speech, as well as other important speeches of Pressensé were not stenographed at the time, and that only piecemeal and fleeting passages from them have been preserved in

the pages of our press.

After the rally a solemn banquet was held at the Hotel des Bergues where speeches were made by us, Christopher and Zavarian (both were in Geneva at the time), Aknooni, Sarkis Minasian and others, and finally Pressensé himself.

Unforgettable, likewise, shall ever remain those magnificent speeches which our friend delivered in the French Parliament in the days of the Sassoun revolt in 1903-1904 and on other occasions. Those, fortunately, were preserved by short hand and some day should be published. Each of them is a lecture, an historic-psychological analysis, to which the Parliament listened with rapt attention.

In all matters of foreign policy in the French Parliament, assuredly our friend was both incomparable and unrivaled. This is the reason why, each time he ascended the platform to speak, a sort of reverential and awesome silence filled the High Assembly. Tempi passati! Today, alas, the picture is changed and you no longer see in the French Parliament either Pressensé the man who personified the conscience of that great country, nor the silence and the tense attention when one speaks about the ills of the Armenian people. Grown smaller and grayer is also the Socialist Party, after the departure of Jaures, Pressensé, Vaillant, Gite and Sampa.

Pressensé was never satisfied with mere speeches but always took active steps in behalf of the Armenian cause. If in those days, during long years the French Government, especially Foreign Minister Delcasse showed an attentive and favorable disposition toward the Armenian cause, if Sassoun at the time was not subjected to absolute ruination, if thanks to Delcasse's intervention the Armenians were spared new calamities in Cilicia and in Upper Armenia, if sometimes, through the intervention of the

same French Government, prominent Armenian Revolutionaries were saved from the gallows (to speak of Vardges alone), we owe this in a great measure to the efforts of our noble and worshipful Pressensé.

He was the vigilant spirit of Armenia in his French fatherland, watched constantly, exacted information from us, kept others, especially Jaures, advised and on frequent occasions organized delegations consisting of Deputies from various political parties (himself, Jaures, Dennis Goschen and other rightists and liberals), who called on Delcassee and pleaded with him to watch closely the movements of the "Red Beast" and to take steps to frustrate Hamidian plots of massacres in Armenia.

The sudden death of his spiritual son Pierre Quillard (1905) which put a stop to the publication of "*Pro Armenia*" was a severe blow to our friend. Pressensé continued to work for us thereafter, in and out of the French Parliament. His health having been undetermined long since, succeeding material losses further deteriorated his condition.

We have stated that, after he was converted to Socialism, he continued to run the foreign department of *Temps* for several years. They could not find a successor for him, and to the socialist editor this great paper was the highest pulpit to proclaim his democratic creed to the intelligentsia of the whole world. In fact, he strove in each of his articles to spread the light of his new outlook on various political and social problems.

All the same, he could not keep on indefinitely. His ideas having clashed with the conservatism of his Director, eventually brought about the severance of their relations.

Thereafter Pressensé lived in penury, tormented by debts, this man who once upon a time used to receive thousands of

francs for a small article. He had nothing to expect from the Socialist press. And yet he was accustomed to a lavish life from the days of his childhood as the son of a wealthy family of the intelligentsia.

He was a philosopher, however, and the bitterness of life seemed to have no effect upon him, at all events they failed to diminish his zest for life and the fight.

In 1912 the Armenian case was again revived, and this time it was Russia and Germany which were interested in Armenian reforms. Aharonian (Avedis) and I decided to resume the publication of a French newspaper in Paris and the two of us went to see Pressensé. He was very happy to see us, approved our plan and promised to contribute to our paper. Then we took Victor Berard to him, also called Longen, and after a consultation it was decided the paper would be published under the editorship of Pressensé and Berard, in French and English. Longen was to be the secretary.

As in the days of the publication of "*Pro Armenia*," we were short of funds. After knocking at some doors we raised a tidy sum with which to provide for the cost of the press and the paper, because our contributors, as always, wrote without expectation of remuneration.

The new paper was started under the title of "*Pour les Peuples d'Orient*," and later was continued under its old name of "*Pro Armenia*." Each issue of the paper carried a beautiful article by our old and ailing friend, always on the same old subject and always steeped in the same unwavering optimism, convinced that the Turco-Balkan crisis would also solve the Armenian question. It was always the same theme which he unrolled but you could never detect any monotony or boredom in his articles which were read with keen interest. Nor was his audience confined to the Armenians alone.

Victor Berard's articles were beautiful and it was difficult to find a more authoritative set of editors for an Armenian paper than our two beloved friends who, in a truly magnanimous gesture, had put their pens at the disposal of the Armenian people.

The two pioneers of the Armenian cause did not confine their efforts to writing alone but they also spoke in public meetings, trying to revive the public opinion which eight to ten years before had stirred the world with the sufferings of the Armenian people.

It was an eternal monumental labor, but what could we do? We had to keep it up. And with our modest powers, again and again we harnessed ourselves to the arduous and thankless labor.

The Armenian Question was Khrimian's "square wheel" which would not move one step. Sometimes, of course, the waves of despondency and despair overwhelmed our souls, indignation against the mighty of the world who were insensible to our plight, indignation against the public opinion which, despite its violent outbursts, could not find a solution to the Armenian Gordian Knot, resentment this time against our own psychology which, after so many disillusionments, still stubbornly forced us to continue to believe and to hope.

The optimism of our great friends lent wings to our courage. And even today, after our greatest of disasters toward which the capitalistic powers were so insensible, as we reflect today upon our world propaganda of the past 30 years, we still persist in thinking all is not lost. We do not look upon it as a gloomy desolation, as a dissipated effort, a worn out virility, a lost zeal.

The propaganda, the incessant cultivation of the public opinion, in the course of long years, it seems, produce no results as long as they do not solve the Armenian

Question. Yet they create that great moral value which is called "imponderable," "intangible."

So many lectures and meetings, so many speeches and demonstrations, the cries of so many authoritative persons over decades could not be entirely futile. Thanks to them, a favorable atmosphere was created in the civilized world around the Armenian case, an atmosphere which was saturated not only with pity, but an active, living sympathy for us; an atmosphere thanks to which, in the days of our most critical trials, in famine and epidemic and mass mortalities, both in the old and new worlds, the fountain of human generosity freely flowed toward our land, fabulous storehouses of material goods were transported into Armenia without which the Armenian race undoubtedly would have perished forever, or would have been deported and turned into dust like the race of the Israeli. Today, thanks to fate, we still have a fatherland and a people.

We owe it to this same moral climate that the Turcophile and Armenophobe claws of the Pierre Lotis, the Farrers and hundreds of their kin drifted by without an echo in enlightened mankind which nevertheless knows that we are not much of a nation to be loved, what with our many national bad traits which have been noted in our businessmen colonies scattered in the four corners of the world.

And lastly, it is due to this same moral atmosphere that, when in some Western center, such as Berlin or Rome, this or that Turkish tyrant is struck down, the public opinion of these countries at once, despite the protestations of the press, ascribing the event to the Armenians, takes up the cudgels and defends the Armenians, stresses the evils of the Turkish regime, and their police and judicial authorities, under the pressure of public opinion, make no ef-

fort to hide their sympathy toward the avenger whether he is arrested or is in hiding.

Whatever attitude the greedy capitalistic Powers hold toward Turkey, that government stands condemned before the world conscience, whereas the Armenian cause has been recognized and sanctified once and forever, as a case of supreme justice whose solution will peremptorily be demanded on every occasion by the same world conscience.

As time passed his sickness frightened our poor Pressensé. Toward the latter part of 1913 he was confined to his home, a dark and dank quarters at the Rue du Port Royal cluttered with books and with scarcely a spot to sit at. He suffered terribly from the cold and the dampness. His body became swollen, his walk was a sluggish drag and his former majestic professorial face took on a strange and meaningless expression.

I remember those days with an aching heart. I used to call on him often. He and Berard supplied the editorials, we had to fill the rest of the paper. Even in his crippled condition he never failed in the regularity of his scholarly contributions to our paper. Sometimes, after the work was done, he used to keep me with him and we used to talk. How charming was his conversation! He used to love to talk about Jaures, he used to hold a sort of worshipful feeling toward that great orator. We used to talk about Armenian national leaders. A meticulous critic in his choice of friends, he did not accept all of them. When he learned that Loris Melikian was no longer in Dashnak ranks, one day he said to me literally: "If he is guilty of any swindling, tell me so I will not accept him." He was happy when I told him there was no financial fraud. To the end he refused to accept any Armenian intellectual on whose moral character he had formed an unfavorable

opinion.

The socialist leaders sometimes called on him at his cell to comfort him; others came to benefit from his sound advice. Sometimes he was visited by Poincare who was foreign minister at the time. However, by now Pressensé had become a ghost of his former self in his desolate abode, his only attendant an old waitress. Those who were close to him knew that his days were numbered.

In this condition he announced he would give a public lecture on the Armenian Question, a task which he accomplished with flying colors. That speech was Pressensé's "Swan Song," for, after that he never appeared in public. Five to six weeks later he was to depart from this world forever.

Meanwhile he continued working in his cell and kept up his articles for "Pro Armenia." Many came to see and to know the famous Patient whose imminent end they felt instinctively.

One day our unforgettable friend Leopold Favre, newly arrived from Geneva, asked me to introduce him to Pressensé. We went to see him and upon our departure my companion sadly murmured a funeral oration over the patient. . . He did not know that his own days were numbered.

And one day Boghos Nubar Pasha asked us to lead him to our sick friend whose erudition and talents he had deeply appreciated for 25 years when Pressensé was editor-in-chief of "Temps." We went to see him. The President of the National Delegation conveyed to the distinguished patient the profound gratitude of the Armenian people for his long and precious services to our cause.

It seemed to me all these were a sort of funeral oration over the tomb of our poor, shattered friend. But his spirit continued to resist. It was a harsh winter, I myself fell ill and went to see him for a

leave of absence. I was leaving for a ten day vacation to the south of France to enjoy the sun. Our patient was still strong enough to walk and that day he was more chipper and engaging than usual.

"I have come to bid you farewell," I said.

"Sit down," he commanded me, "I will tell you a funny story about Jaures." And he told me the following story.

"Yesterday there was a meeting of the editorial staff of 'Humanité,' and as you know, Jaures is the Director of Sol-Disant. There were loud protests from every corner against an officer who is lazy and a loafer, and they demanded his expulsion in order to lighten the budget of the paper. Jaures asked for time to think about it and to make a necessary arrangement. And this morning the entire editorial staff learned with horror that Jaures, instead of firing the loafing officer, had given orders to raise his pay."

The magnificent old man chuckled as he told his story. I bade him good bye with a clear conscience because I had found him in a happy mood.

Ten days later, at Cap St. Martin, I received the following sad, laconic wire: "Pressensé is dead!"

My own father's death would not have moved me so deeply. I felt that one of the sturdy pillars of the Armenian cause, the Armenian ideal, had crumpled, and as to the French world, the very soul of the Armenian movement was extinguished.

His serious illness had taken a sudden catastrophic turn and blow upon blow had paralyzed both his tall powerful frame and his magnificent strong brain in whose mysterious convulsions were wrapped up so much of knowledge and wisdom. For a whole day he had been in a coma, his eyes half open as usual, but unable to speak to Jaures and his other intimate friends who had hastened to the great

Socialist's death bed. And then severed was the thread of a rich and stormy life which had been dedicated so freely and so generously to the cause of all the oppressed, all the dispossessed and persecuted mankind. Pressensé was scarcely 60 when he died.

The day of his death, in the evening, the "Temps" appeared with an unusual headline which was a touching surprise to all the intellectual readers of Paris. The heading of the first column was "The Death of Francis de Pressensé." This was the paper's most important column in which were discussed only world issues of high policy and which Pressensé himself had edited for 18 years.

We were told that a quarrel had developed between Eprar and the new editor Tardeau over this question, the former demanding that this unique honor be accorded to the Socialist Pressensé, and the latter having opposed the idea. This conceited fellow hated his predecessor, the incomparable Pressensé, deeming himself, no doubt, a better journalist. The fact is, after the departure of Pressensé, Temps had a precipitous decline which was generally recognized. Temps never again attained to its former depth and sublimity.

The Socialist and Republican Paris gave Pressensé a superb funeral. That day the "Pro Armenia" appeared in a black border frame, including his latest portrait, and accompanied by a touching article by Berard, freely distributed among the huge crowd. The Armenian students carried his casket on their shoulders over a specified distance.

One of the first speakers at the funeral was Victor Berard who, in his long speech, described the deceased as an indefatigable worker and a valiant champion of the Armenian Cause. Jaures, the next speaker, delivered one of the finest speeches of his life, ending it with the following memor-

able words: : "The road is strewn with graves, but it leads to freedom."

Alas! A few months later the great Jaurès himself, the tempestuous pioneer of the Armenian cause, the incomparable tribune of the world and of history was to fall by the hand of a vulgar, bloody assassin.

I have written all this from memory, without a document, nor a letter from the deceased, not even the files of "Pro Armenia." No doubt the subject will be treated more comprehensively by our intellectual leaders and our future historians who will pay the necessary tribute to our countless noted or modest foreign friends — Gladstone, Lord Bryce, Pressensé, Pierre Quillard, Victor Berard, Jean Jaurès, Anatole France, Luzzatti, Mr. and Mrs. Munar-Torian, the Misses Robinson and Blackwell, Leopold Favre, Lepsius, Albert Thoma, Jean Longue, Marcel Sanpa, Ferdinand Herald, Craft Bonar, George Collis, George Favon, George Lorant and so many others, most of them now departed — who during the past 30 years of emancipatory struggles and crises made their contacts with the Armenian national leaders, espoused their cause, comforted them and tangibly lightened the burden of their affliction.

It is not for the present directors of our

national destiny that such biographical sketches are written. For them, all those figures — from Gladstone to Pressensé — are the mere pitiful servants of the European bourgeoisie who have betrayed the Armenian people. In their eyes, the Armenian Struggle for Liberation, the holiest and the most legitimate since it was directed against the most barbarous tyrannies of the world, that Armenian Struggle which inspired and enthused the greatest Armenian literary talents and in whose pitiless claws the most valiant and the most idealistic generation of the Armenian people sought their death — are nothing but the story of a vulgar adventure or a series of Kurdish predatory excursions.

The years roll by, however, and this turbid waters, too, will pass on, and sooner or later this red nightmare, too, will vanish from the land of the Armenians. And then, over the monuments of an emancipated Armenia and in school exercises, before the curious eyes of the young generations, together with the names of the Christophers and the Mourads, there will be prominently displayed quite a number of foreign names, foremost among which will shine the euphonious and worshipful name of Francis de Pressensé.



TEN BIG LIES

JAMES G. MANDALIAN

Non the political controversy, based upon ideological and temperamental incompatibilities which have divided the Armenian community of the world into two opposing camps, defined generally as the "pro" and "anti" Soviet schools, considerable confusion has been promoted as a result of much promiscuous, irresponsible and largely vindictive publicity. There have been charges and counter-charges, and much mutual recrimination in the hectic effort to prove the fundamental rightness of their several positions.

Much of this confusion of minds does not necessarily imply moral turpitude. Honest people have honestly been confused by reason of their intellectual incapacity to distinguish between error and the truth. A good deal of it is deliberately promoted by unscrupulous and unprincipled leaders who, by virtue of the power of their pen and tongue, wield a powerful influence over the minds of the naive and simple-minded masses. As a result of this mental corruption, many innocent and good-intentioned people have been prejudiced and poisoned beyond redemption. The habitual carelessness of certain people about the truth has tended to obliterate in their minds the distinction between right and wrong. The big lie has been repeated so often that both the repeaters and the hearers have come to believe it as the truth.

In the Babel of voices which has characterized the Armenian controversy es-

pecially since the advent of the Soviet, the one salient fact which emerges is the apparent futility of the debate as waged by the Armenian newspapers. Reading both sides, and wading through oceans of polemic literature, far from illuminating the mind, often tends to further dim the vision and intensify the obfuscation. In the interests of simplicity and clarity, therefore, it will be helpful to the confused individual, we venture to hope, to state with brutal honesty the respective merits of the contentions concerning some of the major issues which separate the two opposing camps, in a syllogistic form which will be perfectly intelligible even to the most underprivileged mind.

The number of the issues which separate the two camps, we might truthfully say, is legion, and, to attempt to cover the entire field would be both futile and foolish. A factual statement of a limited number of the controversial issues, however, in our opinion, would serve the essential purpose of enabling the reader to draw his own conclusion as to the merits of the remaining myriad issues which have not been covered.

Below we give in concrete form ten of the major lies which have been advanced against us the Dashnaks by our opponents whom we know as the Ramgavar-Hunchak-Progressive-A.G.B.U. pro-soviet coalition. Both our charges against them and our answers to their innuendos have repeatedly been published in our press but they have

never been adequately answered. The bare facts which we present below in answer to the big ten lies need no proof. They are so universally known that the very repetition for the millionth time sickens us. We simply challenge our opponents to deny the veracity of our contentions.

On Catholicos Vazgen I Baljian

Our opponents contend:

Catholicos Vazgen was elected by the free will of the Armenian people, he is the free head of a free institution in Armenia and he represents the true interests of the Armenian church.

We contend:

Vazgen I Baljian was handpicked by the Soviet, he is not a free agent, he is a captive Catholicos and is being tolerated by the Soviet to promote the Soviet cause among the Armenians of the Dispersion.

The facts are:

1. There were no regular elections held in the appointment of Vazgen Baljian.
2. Of the 120 odd delegates of the Electoral College which elected him Catholicos, over one hundred presumably came from Soviet Russia where, as we know, no churches exist.
3. Many of the delegates from overseas were regimented by telephone call, for instance, take the case of Mr. Harry Burt of Providence who became Godfather of the Catholicos, not because he was elected by his parish, but because he was a wealthy man.
4. He is constantly kept under close surveillance by the Commissar of the USSR Department of Denominations and does nothing without his approval.
5. His encyclical letters are generally designed to promote the Soviet policy among the Armenian believers, such as, the Soviet propaganda campaigns for the termination of the atomic tests, the question of disarmament, peace movements and

summit conferences, etc. all of which are submitted with a reasoning which is in full accord with the Soviet line.

6. During his sojourn in the Middle East in 1956 to interfere with the Antelias elections, he was in constant contact with the Soviet Embassies from which he received his instructions.

On November 29

Our opponents contend:

November 29, the day of Armenia's sovietization, is the day of Armenia's liberation. The Soviets liberated the Armenian people from the tyranny of the Dashnak imperialists.

We contend:

November 29 is a black day in the history of the Armenian people because it marks the termination of the Independent Armenian Republic and the inauguration of the Soviet tyranny. November 29 is the symbol of slavery, despoilation and national degradation.

The facts are:

With the Sovietization of Armenia on Nov. 29, 1920, as claimed by the proponents of the Soviet regime, all kind of freedom, religious, political, cultural and economic, came to an end, much like in all the Soviet-subjugated countries of Eastern Europe and the Caucasus. Instead of liberating and expanding Armenia within the context of the Sevres Treaty the Soviets further decimated Armenia by the arbitrary and unjust surrender of historic Armenian territories to Armenia's neighbors Georgia and Azerbaijan. A look at the map of modern Armenia will show the absurdity of the vaunted "liberation." The Armenian-populated region of Nakhitchevan to the south of Armenia was torn from the main body and was given to Azerbaijan to the north of Armenia, without even the appearance-

saving excuse of geographical contiguity. Speaking of Armenian territorial claims on Turkey, the then USSR Foreign Minister V. M. Molotov on May 30, 1953, proclaimed to the world that "The Soviet no longer had any territorial claims upon Turkey."

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On the ADL and the Soviet

Our opponents contend:

Accusing the ADL (Armenian Democratic Liberal Party otherwise known as Ramgavars) of pro-sovietism is a vile Dashnak slander.

We contend:

The ADL sympathy for the Soviet is no fiction, it is one of the most shameful facts of contemporary Armenian history.

The facts are:

1. One has but to read the ADL newspapers to be convinced of the truth of this charge. During the entire period of Soviet domination, the ADL press did not publish one line of condemnation of the Soviet crimes, much less the rape of Armenia. On the contrary, it hailed the Soviet as the "liberators of Armenia." It hailed Stalin the butcher as a "great benefactor," "Father of his people," "the resplendent Sun," "the wise and the providential protector and guardian of human rights," and published poetry in eulogy of his accomplishments. One ADL editor wrote that "Armenia had never been so free and independent as she now is under the Soviet regime." Another ADL editor wrote "what endears Armenia to us is not the soil, the mountains and the valleys and the rivers, but it is the regime," meaning the Soviet regime. The ADL Boston organ pleaded the case of the traitor Rosenbergs and called President Truman "a traitor" for having used harsh language against those who sought refuge under the Fifth Amendment. 2. Some time ago,

Madame Andrassy, a government liaison officer in New York, in a formal statement openly accused the ADL newspapers the "Baikar," the "Armenian Mirror-Spectator" and the "Nor Or" of Fresno of "toeing the Soviet line." In the Antelias crisis of two years ago, in their attempt to prevent the people's choice Bishop Zareh from becoming Catholicos of Cilicia, they were in constant contact with, and received orders from the Soviet embassy.

●

On the Cilician Elections

Our opponents contend:

The election of Catholicos Zareh of the Antelias (Cilicia) See was illegal.

We contend:

There was absolutely nothing "illegal," "improper," or "inadmissible" in the election of Bishop Zareh as Catholicos of the Illustrious House of Cilicia in February of 1956.

The facts are:

1. The election of Catholicos Zareh was attended by strict observance of the traditions, the forms, the procedures and the Constitution of the Armenian Church.
2. Bishop Zareh was elected by a prohibitive majority. Of the 36 delegates of the electoral college, 32 voted for him, one voted for himself and two abstained from voting. Our opposition has not even attempted to refute these known facts.
3. Vazgen I Baljian, the Catholicos of Etchmiadzin himself admitted the legality of Bishop Zareh's election. In his telegram to the Catholicate of Antelias, dated August 23, 1956, he admitted the legality and offered to anoint the new Catholicos with his own hand provided the latter consented to go to Etchmiadzin for the ceremony. This Catholicos Zareh refused to do.

On the "Five Percent"

Our opponents contend:

The Dashnaks are a pitiful minority. They are no more than five percent of the community. They have been discredited and ostracized from Armenian society. They do not count.

We contend:

Far from being a serious argument seriously to be considered, this is a combination of slander, wishful thinking, and woe-ful self delusion. We are strong and power-ful in the consciousness that the Armenian people are with us.

The facts are:

1. The fact that the Soviet is out to de-
stroy the Armenian Revolutionary Federa-
tion is a clear indication of Dashnak
strength. Moscow is not in the habit of
chasing five percent phantoms.
2. During the past 40 years, in the national elections
of Arab countries of the Middle East, the
Dashnak candidates have invariably carried
the day as delegates to the Syrian and
Lebanese Parliaments, despite the vicious
opposition of the formidable "95 percent."
3. In 1945 the vaunted 95 percent of the
Armenian community (The Ramgavar-
Hunchak-Progressive-A.G.B.U. and Knights
of Vardan coalition) launched a one mil-
lion dollar project for the construction of
an Armenian Cathedral in New York. After
13 years of arduous solicitation they have
managed to raise about half the sum, just
enough to break the ground of the church.
In the recent Antelias Fund Drive, the
five percent Dashnaks raised half a mil-
lion dollars in the brief span of seven
months. That ought to give an idea of
the relative strength of the two contend-
ing forces, stripped of the braggadocio and
the bombast.

On the Dashnaks and the Church

Our opponents contend:

The Dashnaks are enemies of the church, and consequently, their present miraculous interest in religion, far from being genuine, is only designed to use that institution for their political purposes. The seizure of the Catholicate of Cilicia in Antelias was a dis-service to the nation, as well as the Ar-
menian church.

We contend:

The charge that the Dashnaks are en-
emies of religion and the church is a vici-
ous lie. To them religion is a matter of in-
dividual conscience, however, as a political
organization, they properly evaluate the
position of the church as an essential con-
stituent of the national anatomy and they
naturally are concerned when any aspect
of the national structure is threatened by
outside forces.

The facts are:

1. Dashnaks have definite convictions
about the value of the church in the pres-
ervation of the nation. In 1908, when the
Tsarist Government attempted to confis-
cate the Armenian church estates, and
when the so-called formidable 95 percent
of Armenian society would not lift
a finger, it was the Dashnaks who waged
war against the Tsarist tyranny and forced
the Government to rescind its order of con-
fiscation.
2. The Dashnaks have not con-
fiscated the Catholicate of Cilicia; they
have liberated it from Soviet influence.
They have made the Armenian church in
the free world a free church, and not a
shackled church as is the case under the
Catholicos of Etchmiadzin in Soviet Arme-
nia.
3. The Dashnaks have no material
gains from the liberation of Antelias, on

the contrary, it cost them something to liberate Antelias. Only in the United States it cost them half a million dollars. The charge that the Dashnaks have seized control of Antelias for the partisan gains is ridiculous. 3. The political aims of the Dashnaks is the liberation of Armenia and the Armenian people, in the present instance, from the Soviet tyranny. They also have an account to settle with the Turk affecting the final disposition of the Armenian historic territories now forcibly held by the Turk. The Dashnaks stand for a free, united and independent Armenian homeland. They also stand for a free church. This ideology has a tremendous appeal to the Armenian masses of the free world. The appeal also applies to the Armenian clergy. If the Dashnak appeal strikes home in the hearts of the people, the result cannot be interpreted as "Dashnak exploitation of the church for political aims." What has happened in the Middle East and here in the United States is this. Vast masses of the people have shared the Dashnak ideology and the Dashnak political program. That was how they elected Bishop Zareh as Catholicos of Cilicia, and how the American diocese of the free church transferred its allegiance to Antelias. The hundreds of thousands of Armenian believers who approved of the election of Bishop Zareh as Catholicos are not all card-bearing Dashnaks. Only a fraction of them are Dashnak members. That this vast non-card-bearing segment of the people follow the Dashnak leadership is a glowing tribute to the sincerity of Dashnak patriotism and a ringing proof that the Armenian people are with the Dashnaks.

● Dashnaks are Pro-Turk

Our opponents contend:

The Dashnaks are pro-Turk. In their blind hatred of the Soviet, they have made

a pact with the Turk and are collaborating with the Turk. They cite the Alexandropol Treaty, the "Paris Bloc," and U.S. alliance with Turkey.

We contend:

This is heinous lie and a deliberate distortion of the truth.

The facts are:

1. The Alexandropol Treaty is a long story. At the end of the Armeno-Turkish war, on December 2, 1920, the Government of Armenia signed a treaty with the Turk at Alexandropol, to prevent the Turk from marching on Erivan and finishing off the remnants of the Armenian people. It was a humiliating treaty like the one the French government signed with the Germans at the end of the Franco-Prussian war. The Dashnaks have been blamed for having signed this "infamous treaty." The facts are, the Government of Armenia signed this treaty out of a supreme regard for the immediate fate of the people, and not because it loved the Turk. Secondly, when the delegation of the Dashnak government signed the treaty in Alexandropol, the government had changed hands and a coalition — Soviet-Dashnak — government had taken over. The "coalition" part of the pact was of course a farce. Actually the government was in the hands of the Soviet. And it was this Soviet Government which, obviously reluctant to shoulder the onus of a humiliating treaty, left the way open to the Armenian Delegation to "use its judgement". The Delegation used its judgement and signed the treaty, thus saving the Armenian people. There was no treason involved, no treachery, no collusion nor affection for the Turk. It was a simple case of knuckling under a *force majeure*. These facts have been explained a million times and it is a shame that a pathological refusal

to admit the truth has so warped Armenian minds to character-assassinate their brothers and sisters with such a revolting lie.

2. The case of the "Paris Bloc" is another instance of scandalous distortion. The Paris Bloc is not an anti-western alliance, it is not an anti-democratic pact, it is not a fascist organization. The Paris bloc is an open organization, enjoying the full knowledge and the sanction of the Western Powers, including our own United States, consisting of former Caucasian republics who lost their independence under Soviet pressure and who have banded together to effectuate their liberation from the Soviet. There is nothing dishonorable, nor reprehensible nor improper about it. It is an honorable organization by honorable peoples who aspire to their independence. Because there are some Azerbaijani or Turkmeistani Turks in the Alliance, and NOT Ottoman Turks, our enemies have been exploiting the word Turk to prejudice people into thinking the Dashnaks have made a pact with the Turk. The Dashnaks have NOT made a pact with the Turk, the Ottoman Turk, and any confusion of terms or improper applications operating on naive minds to prejudice them against innocent people is but another facet of the dastardly methods of defamation which the Soviet has perfected.

3. The Dashnaks also are accused of hobnobbing with the Turk because, as loyal American citizens, we accept the fiat of a political contingency which makes the Turk the ally of the United States vis-a-vis the Soviet Union. Lacking the guts to make their grievances known openly to the United States Government that they, the valiant defenders of democracy, will under no circumstances tolerate the inclusion of an assassin race like the Turk in our alliance,

expect the Dashnaks to do the "dirty work," pardon the colloquialism. And because the Dashnaks are not so sanguine about pressing the case of the Turk, they are blamed by our opponents for condoning, or sanctioning if you please, the Turkish alliance, and by implication they conclude that the Dashnaks have a great affection for the Turks.

To all such reasoners we would say. Our real sentiments have nothing to do with the Turkish alliance. As American citizens, as loyal citizens, we exercise our understanding, we refrain from embarrassing our Government by making a case of a situation which, we are certain, our State Department comprehends better than we do, and we tolerate the alliance of the Turk because we appreciate the value of his resistance against an evil which we are trying to, or at least we hope to destroy.

Furthermore, whenever the occasion arises, it is we Dashnaks who put in the first word at the proper place for the case of Armenia versus the Turk, with cogent and courageous documentation, and not those timid souls whose bark has always proved sharper than their bite. And if our memories do not fail us, it was not the formidable 95 percent which terrorized the offices of the Universal-International into desisting from producing the picture of Mustafa Kemal the Attaturk, but it was the Dashnaks who, having enlisted the aid of the Greeks, flooded the offices of the Hollywood company with their telegrams and protest letters threatening to boycott the picture if they went through with it. The Dashnaks might not have stopped the Attaturk picture, but they certainly tried, something which cannot be said of our super Armenian "Turcophobes."

On the Armenian General Benevolent Union

Our opponents contend:

The Dashnaks are trying to discredit and destroy the Armenian General Benevolent Union which is a good, clean and incorruptible organization, the greatest charitable institution among the Armenians.

We contend:

The A.G.B.U. has not lived up to its exalted mission as laid down by its founders. The A.G.B.U. raises millions from the Armenians in the name of charity but it abuses the people's trust in the handling of those funds. It is not an impartial, lofty-spirited organization, it discriminates in the distribution of its charity and it has been guilty of criminal negligence, extravagance, bad trusteeship and corrupt practices in its officialdom.

The facts are:

1. The A.G.B.U. has systematically punished the Dashnaks for their political views by discriminating against them and depriving them of their share of the nation's charity largess.
2. It extends its subsidy to those Armenian schools or cultural or charitable institutions which subscribe to its political views.
3. It never employs independent-minded teachers or functionaries in its schools and institutions.
4. During the entire course of its existence, it has never extended any aid to the following Armenian cultural and charitable organizations because of their non-conformity to its political views: The Djemaran (Armenian College) of Beirut, The Danish institution called "Birds Nest," The Armenian Sanatorium of Lebanon, the Mekhitarist institutions of Venice and Vienna, and all Armenian national schools which refuse to subscribe to the A.G.B.U. view that the Soviets were the "liberators of the Armenian people."
5. Despite its hypocritical

denial, the A.G.B.U. is a political organization, supports political parties of its liking, cooperates with and subsidizes them with the funds of the people, and persecutes political parties which are hostile to the Soviet.

6. The Armenian Mirror-Spectator editorially boasted that "The A.G.B.U. and the Ramgavar Party and the Armenian Church are one and indivisible. He who attacks one, attacks the other two." This damning admission of A.G.B.U. collusion with a political party was never denied nor repudiated.

7. In the recent Antelias crisis, the Armenian women who disgraced themselves by raiding the sanctuary of the Catholicate of Cilicia and desecrating the interior in their attempt to frustrate the ceremony of the consecration of Catholicos Zareh I were the pupils of the A.G.B.U. operated schools in Beirut.

8. The devastating exposition of the A.G.B.U. misdeeds by Arshak Dickranian and Hovhannes Babesian of California, published in serial form in the "Hairenik Daily" of Boston, and a special series of bulletins published by the Middle-Eastern Armenian members of the A.G.B.U. who sincerely deplore these crimes of their organization, hitherto ignored by the A.G.B.U. for the lack of convincing repudiation, are too damning to leave any doubt about the A.G.B.U. corruption.

On the Case of Archbishop Nersoyan

Our opponents contend:

Archbishop Tiran Nersoyan is politically clean. The Dashnak attempt to represent him as a person whose sympathies essentially lie with the present Soviet masters of Armenia is but another of their dastardly methods of character assassination.

We contend:

Archbishop Tiran Nersoyan is not politically clean. He is definitely pro-soviet and he has rendered some tangible services to

the Soviet cause.

The facts are:

1. Archbishop Tiran Nersoyan is the author of an infamous work called "A Christian Approach to Communism," in which he tried to reconcile the principles of Christianity with Marxist materialism. In this work the Archbishop went so far as to even justify the Soviet slaughter of millions as "a surgical operation which is necessary to save the social body from a cancer which threatens to destroy the entire anatomy." 2. The Archbishop has never repudiated nor renounced this damning error, his only apology being that "the work was written years ago when friendship for the Soviet was the fashion of the day." 3. In the current Armenian controversy involving the religious and political issues, he has invariably been with the pro-soviet forces. 4. Once he wrote a letter to the State Department accusing the Dashnaks as a fascist outfit, unreliable and dangerous, and by the same token giving the impression that the pro-soviet camp with which he was associated were the type of citizens who could be trusted. 5. In the recent Antelias crisis, centering on the election of Catholicos Zareh, he sided with the pro-soviet Etchmiadzinist minority of the Middle East who were attempting to destroy the Catholicate of Cilicia, and we have definite inside information that he was in constant contact with the Soviet Embassy in Beirut. 6. In his recent contest with Archbishop Yeghishe Derderian for the capture of the Patriarchal Throne of Jerusalem, his name became a public issue as a Communist sympathizer and he was ordered by the Jordanian Government to leave the country as an undesirable. He sought sanctuary within the compound of the Patriarchate and still refused to leave the country, however, the Jordanian Government decreed that he can never become

Patriarch, and he was finally thrown out of Jordan.

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**The Dashnaks are Smearing
The Armenians**

Our opponents contend:

The non-Dashnak Armenians of the Dispersion are not communists, nor Communist sympathizers. The Dashnaks are hitting below the belt by presenting the church and political issues in such as manner as to put the rest of us in a disadvantageous posture, making us look like Soviet sympathizers.

We contend:

Ever since the sovietization of Armenia, the anti-Dashnak coalition has taken a political stand which, even by their admission, is a complete and unconditional surrender to the Soviet fiat. There is no slander or any smearing. These people are honestly devoted to the Soviet cause and they have made no bones about displaying their real feelings.

The facts are:

In their own circles, in their published literature and in their spoken word, the Ramgavar-Hunchak-Progressive-A.G.B.U. anti-Dashnak coalition are so indiscreet and rash in their expression of pro-Soviet sympathy that the idea that the Dashnaks are trying to smear them is downright ridiculous. Those people are so abandoned and unabashed in their devotion to the Soviet cause that we have difficulty in understanding why they should take umbrage when we call them Soviet-sympathizers. We think that, since they make no bones about hiding their pro-soviet feelings, they should be men enough to stand up for their convictions and admit openly that they love the Soviet cause because they believe it is right.

There is a vast amount of quotable docu-

mentary material to prove the veracity of the abovementioned charge if it were necessary. However, the pro-soviet sympathy of the anti-Dashnak coalition goes much deeper than polemics or historiography. The feeling is embedded in an emotional and philosophical sense.

The emotional motive stems from an incurable hatred of the Dashnaks which, through years of persistent indulgence, has by now become pathological. Whatever the Dashnaks do, the anti-Dashnaks must do the exact opposite; whatever the Dashnaks profess, the anti-Dashnaks must avow the opposite. The anti-Dashnak of today is pro-soviet because the Dashnak, whatever the reasons may be, happens to be anti-soviet. The best proof of this was supplied at the time of the Independent Republic of Armenia (1918-1920) when the Ramgavars of America submitted a memorandum calling upon our State Department "not to aid the Republic of Caucasian Armenia because it was Communist." Today, these same Armenians have no compunctions in calling the Soviet-controlled and Soviet-enslaved Armenia as their "one and only Armenia."

The philosophical explanation, the more powerful motive under ordinary circumstances, in the case of the anti-Dashnak, merely rationalizes the emotional erraticism. The Anti-Dashnak believes, or pretends to believe that the Bolsheviks were the liberators of Armenia and that the coming of the Soviet was a good thing for the Armenian people. They believe, or pretend to believe

that, the minute the Soviet protectorate is removed, the Turks will rush into Armenia and will annihilate the rest of the Armenians. This diabolical specter has deliberately been invented in order to hold the masses in terror and to enlist their adherence to the Soviet regime. A by-product of the deliberate and systematic dissemination of this monstrous idea has tended to debilitate the virility of the Armenian people and to emasculate their spirit of resistance. Thus, the anti-Dashnak is committed to the Soviet by the very nature of his political philosophy, a circumstance which explains his morbid solicitude for the perpetuation of the Soviet regime. The preservation of the Soviet regime, the reasoning goes, is necessary for the continued existence of the Armenian people.

Yet, even in the light of this explanation, we would have some respect for the anti-Dashnak were we certain that his professed fear of the dreadful consequences of the Soviet's disappearance were founded on honest conviction. However, when the anti-Dashnak, in his frantic effort to glamorize the Soviet sins against his conscience by accusing the Dashnak Government of the Independent Republic as having "brought famine, epidemic and massacre into Armenia," we know that he is not honest, and that even his philosophy is a sham.

The fact of the matter is, the anti-Dashnak made a fatal commitment 38 years ago, and like the proverbial trapped fox, he does not know now how to get out of his predicament.

THE COURTSHIP OF BACHELOR BEDROS

BARON MIKAN

"Three men — it is too many men to speak for a man," Vassily Varan said for the hundredth time. Straight and tall, like the former Russian soldier that he was, he was walking ahead of the three on the dirt road. They were not riding in Bedros' roadster because that day, they all agreed, the roadster was not running. The real reason was that Bachelor Bedros, an unsure driver to begin with, was too nervous to drive.

"Not for Bachelor Bedros," Bedros said loudly in reply to Vassily for the hundredth time, "Three men is not too many to speak for Bachelor Bedros." They spoke Armenian.

"Besides," Melope Priest, always the conservative, his grandfather's true son, "If as you say, you will have it done as in the old land — then why not have it done as in the old land? — Why do you come along?"

"I will come along — It is settled — Yesterday settled — I will come along because — well, because, I will come along — We are not mussulmen that we should do everything exactly the same as yesterday, last year . . . But, see, see, now how we still talk about yesterday, past things — Today there is this, in a few minutes this with the farmer woman to do —"

"Pah, how serious this man gets," Melope Priest said, "Can a man no longer make

talk for the sake of talk? — Must a man nowdays always mean something by what he says? . . . Things have changed all around — Yes, in this land all around —"

"No, no, things have not changed," Gamba said, stopping a little to fall back away from Bedros, who was speaking louder all the time the closer they came to the farm, to old Melope, "It is just us, us who have changed — People still talk and not mean anything in what they talk — still talk for talk only, even 'Mericans — It is just that we, we, well, you know, feeling not all at home in new land, feel we must see meaning in everything — to show we are not alien dummies."

"But," Gamba went on musing aloud, "Considering everything, we have done not too bad ourselves; for among ourselves we still can sometimes talk without feeling we must mean something all the time — and we still can drink wine without counting glasses, still sing, and listen to Bedros." He said the last as though it really were an achievement. As though in answer Bedros' voice came in a loud nervous humming as though he might break into a song any minute.

"Pah, how philosophical this man has become," Melope spoke with an old man's exasperation in his voice, "The way he talks you might think it was his grandfather had been the priest of their village — and for

a time, Melope himself, until the Turks cut down his three tender blossoms of children and then he reversed the teaching of the book — he turned his ploughshares into swords, he forswore his priestly vows and became a sharpshooter in the guerilla army. It was too much to ask of a man to take the butchering of his three beautiful sons without anger — Even God himself gave up only one son. Melope made his old man's legs move faster, drawing him away from Gamba. He was really an old man, bent at the back a little; he walked in the posture of the peasant with his head down. His eyes were on the ground, as though afraid of taking themselves up from the earth from which he had eeked so much of his livelihood and in which his three sons had lain all those years he himself was still walking about.

Ahead of them, a few feet ahead of Bedros' hulking figure, Vassily Varan was still walking like a soldier on patrol. His shoulders were high as though bearing a full field pack that he would not admit to himself and to the rest of the world as being heavy; his legs stepped out high and long, as though again he were trying to prove something, prove himself, to the same whole world. Every now and again, he looked back and spoke to them, sharply, crisply, military fashion.

"You will never reach there this afternoon if you walk like that," he would say, or something like it.

Bedros always felt impatience for Vassily in moments like that. He liked the former Russian soldier in Vassily the least of all his postures.

"What are you doing?" Bedros called in mock ridicule, "Look at him now how he is walking — Be careful, Vassily Varan, you'll frighten the farm house away from us." Bedros laughed almost without control through his heavy breathing. After

him Gamba's voice came laughing.

A few of Vassily's high and long steps more and he was around the bend in the road. Bedros knew he could see the farm house now, lying long and thin, like an American cheese box, on the knoll in the hen yard.

Vassily's steps seemed to slow down and then stopped altogether. There was an uncertainty and hesitation in him now. Now he looked more like an old veteran than he did an active soldier. If Bedros hadn't become concerned about what it meant at that moment, he could have liked seeing Vassily looking like that.

"Well, well, what is it?" Bedros strode up to Vassily, "What is it now?" In the midst of his own so great uncertainty, Bedros was experiencing impatience with Vassily. Round the bend now himself, he too could see the house.

"Bachelor Bedros, my neighbor, my brother," Vassily was saying, not at all sonning like himself. Bedros did not like the way Vassily was addressing him, as though with egg shells in his mouth, as it were.

"Yes, my neighbor, my brother," Bedros repeated to Vassily with irony in his voice.

Now Gamba and Melope Priest were at his back; the three of them were gathered like a jury to what Vassily was about to say. Even as he said it, all three knew what it would be. Bedros watched Vassily with eyes of impatience.

"I think maybe we are being a little too quick to do this," Vassily Varan said, trying to avoid Bedros' eyes — he was falling into the soldier's posture again, just as though he had defeated a whole lot, an army of Turks by himself, "Just think — think what we are about to do — And with a Yengee woman."

Bedros felt his impatience becoming unbearable — he looked at Vassily as though

he wanted to turn him to shreds —

"How many times after we make up our minds must we make up our minds again? Vassily Varan, I do not think you were the hero that you say you were — to turn at the sight of a woman's house just like a musselman harem woman."

The others, even Gamba, eyed the house uneasily — they waited for Vassily to say more even though they might not show how they agreed with him. Finally Gamba spoke up himself:

"Besides, the woman herself — Meeses Beelmountain herself, Bedros — she is so, I don't know, unhealthy looking — no meat, no fat under her skin — and her mouth, small but active, like a puppet's mouth — as though it has seen so much action — Such a mouth can talk a man to an early grave, Bedros."

But Bedros was not listening; he eyed the house and started to move up the knoll toward it.

"Are you to come with me — or shall I go on as one poor man, begging his own suit?" Bedros was moving ahead with forced resolution. In the yard, yapping wildly, was the old black dog with the face of a racoon. It tossed about on its legs and yapped furiously. Bedros tried to ignore it as he walked up to the house. Vassily Varan, Melope Priest, and Gamba came quickly after him.

At the very door, Bedros found a hesitation becoming great in himself. The dog had stopped yapping; it was padding through the dust toward him.

"What's the matter?" Vassily said with a knowing smile, "Perhaps you are making up your mind again too?"

Bedros looked at him and shifted distressfully in his place. He looked down to the dog — it had recognized him now. He put his hand out — the dog licked and worried knickeringly at his knuckles. Bedros liked the feel of the dog's tongue on his

fingers.

He straightened out and said, "No, not making up my mind again — Just thinking, thinking how to begin right." He moved directly to the door and knocked. Gamba moved forward to take his place as the first pleader.



Melope Priest, Vassily Varan, and Gamba were sitting one, one, and one in hard back chairs against the kitchen wall. Mrs. Belmountain was at the table — she was cutting at a pan of pie with a knife. She moved from the table to the stove, from the pan of pie to the pot of coffee with a fussy agitation. Melope Priest watched her for seconds — he folded and unfolded his arms, gave his eyes first to one aimless spot on the opposite wall and then to another. Vassily Varan sat straight and unmovingly, his arms folded across his chest, like a statue. Gamba was relaxed indifferently letting his eyes go where they would. Known in the old land as *Citizen Gamba*, he was always the first spokesman among his people.

Giving a sly smile in the midst of it, Melope Priest poked Vassily in the ribs with his elbow. He bent way over to his right side into the door opening out to the living room. As he did so, he could just see Bedros' heavy legs sticking out from the floppy cushioning of one of the easy chairs. The legs were crossing and uncrossing themselves again and again. It was apparent Bedros was trying to ignore what was going on in the kitchen.

Melope gave off another sly smile and tried to catch Bedros' attention with an eye. But when Bedros head appeared above the cushioning, it looked serious. It was as though a thing of great moment were being undertaken and he had given his word to respect it — his face was turned away from the kitchen. Melope Priest started

giggling and coughing — he caught his handkerchief from his pocket and pressed it to his mouth. Over the handkerchief his eyes sparkled furiously, first to Vassily Varan, then to Gamba. For their part, both were trying to ignore him.

When Mrs. Belmountain came to Melope with the piece of pie, his eyes were still sparkling. Mrs. Belmountain upon him, however, his face sobered instantly and his head dipped a little. He took the dish with the pie; he looked at it as if really not knowing what to do. And then, picking up the fork, he broke off a token piece of the pie and passed the dish to Vassily. Now Mrs. Belmountain would not feel offended, would know with what open hearts they had come, how they accepted her hospitality.

Vassily took the plate. He looked down at the piece of pie with the corner gone from it — he seemed a little puzzled. Finally he shrugged lightly, picked up the fork and broke off a second corner, put it in his mouth, and passed the dish to Gamba.

Now it was Gamba's turn to be immensely puzzled. He was also almost disgruntled. And then, as he saw Vassily's and Melope's mouths moving, he was smiling. Smiling, he held the plate on his lap.

"Vassily Varan," he whispered in Armenian.

"Yes, Gamba, brother."

"What is it you think you and Melope are doing? — We are not in the old land in the house of a Turk that you should take token samplings of the food and pass it on."

"It is not my doing, Gamba Nohan," Vassily whispered loudly — his eyes protested his innocence, "It is that old man, water brained Melope."

Just then Mrs. Belmountain came back to them from the table. This time she was carrying two dishes of pie.

For a moment, as she handed the pie to Vassily Varan and then to Gamba, she seemed puzzled that the latter should have a piece already. She looked to Melope Priest — he was sitting with his head down — his hands were empty.

She giggled lightly to herself, handed pie to Melope for the second time, and went back to the table for coffee.

Melope and Vassily took the coffee like Turkish demitasse, black and without sugar.

The three men sat in the straight backed chairs, eating the pie and drinking the coffee. They avoided direct contact with the woman's eyes and with each other as they ate and drank.

The woman sat at the table, drinking and eating. All the while she looked from one to the other, smiling in that pinched eye way of hers, trying to make contact. In the midst of it, she said, "Heavens sake," and stopped eating.

"Poor Bedros," she said pronouncing the name as though it were the combination of the two words *bed* and *rose*, "We forgot all about him." She got up quickly and fussed at the pie plate again, saying over and over again as though she were trying to make a joke!

"He is human too — he would like pie too."

"Yes," Gamba kept saying as though she were being serious in what she was saying and that politeness required a response, "Yes, human too — would like pie."

She started out to the living room with the pie and coffee. Melope got up quickly, almost spilling his dish and cup.

Still not looking up at her, he said, "Scuse me —" and took the cup and plate and went out into the other room. Mrs. Belmountain seemed lost in a small confusion.

In seconds they heard Melope's voice mumbling something in Armenian. His

voice was hushed and mumbling just as though he were in church or in a funeral parlor. After it came Bedros' voice, loud, in American, "Thanka you — thanka Meeses Beelmountain — thanka her really, really moch." They heard the rattling of silver against cup and plate.

Melope came back into the room. Still not looking to Mrs. Belmountain, he picked up his cup and plate, and sat down. Breaking the remains of the pie with his lips and toothless gums, sending crumbs everywhere and slurping at the coffee, he was busy eating again. Vassily Varan and Gamba ate on — Vassily seemed to be eating extra daintily now as though to make up for Melope's bad habits.

Heroically, Mrs. Belmountain went on eating and drinking. She went on smiling and trying to make contact with at least one of them.

When all three of them were through, Melope Priest turned his cup sideways, on its saucer. He brushed his hands together and mumbled a slight prayer saying at its end, "Thanka you." He designed now to glance for a second to Mrs. Belmountain as he did so. Vassily Varen held his cup and plate carefully on the floor.

"That deleecious, Meeses Beelmountain," Gamba said with a deft dipping of his head, "That deleecious — You very, very good cook." He looked meaningfully first to Vassily and then to Melope, and then back to her, "Peety is you have no man all time with you to happeniate you cook."

"Yes, yes, peety," Vassily said, having awokened to the moment now.

"Peety, peety," Melope said, once more risking a look up to her, giving her a meaningful look.

Mrs. Belmountain's confusion was all about her again. It was so perplexing an afternoon for her — those three men from the group of foreign people, Armenians

they were, who rented her meadow weekends for their strange summer picnics now sitting in her kitchen like that, like three Indian chiefs or something. While Bedros, the only one of them with whom she felt any real ease — that big man with so big an appetite, so much fun, now sat alone out in the other room. She could not understand this at all. She almost could not believe that it was happening to her, taking place in her kitchen.

Yet she tried to smile when they said that thing about what a pity it was that a man wasn't about all the time to enjoy her cooking. Were they, in their curious ways, referring to her state of being a widow, her unfortunate condition?

Were they making fun of her in their curious oriental ways? She tried to smile in response to the statement — Whatever they meant, she was sure they meant no harm by it.

"And this land," Gamba went on, "So much a peety there is no strong man to farm it for you like it should be farm." Vassily Varan, watching first Gamba and then the woman, was shaking his head in agreement with Gamba as though he had made a bad mistake, as though to say to him, "What is this about the land? — Why bring the land into it? — She will think it is because we want it in our tribe that we are suggesting the marriage." But Gamba ignored the look and went on.

"And the leetle girl — So nice a girl with blue, blue eyes and hair like wheat, like angels — Peety she have no father."

The woman kept smiling with constraint. She found herself wishing that Milly were in the house with her now.

"Coffee, more coffee?" she said getting up as though to fetch the coffee.

"No, thanka you," Gamba smiled satisfaction, "I have 'nuff — is good coffee but I have 'nuff."

"Thanka you mooch, 'nuff," Vassily Varan said in a clear direct voice.

Melope only pulled a face of satisfaction, placed his hand on his stomach to indicate his satisfaction, and looked down to the floor.

Mrs. Belmountain was caught standing with the coffee pot in her hand. For seconds she stood like that. Finally, as a way out, she poured herself some and sat down. She picked up her cup and drank at it with tiny agitation.

"We know such a man," Gamba gave her a knowing look.

"Yes, yes, know of such man," Vassily Varan added with his own look.

"Yiss, yiss," Melope came after, daring a second direct look, "Sooch man."

The woman looked up from her drinking, rattling her cup back into its saucer. She kept looking and looking at Gamba.

"That is why we here this afternoon," Gamba straightened his back, "We here to speak for this man."

"Speak for thees man," Vassily put in.

"For thees man," Melope Priest said, his eyes on the floor again, "Spoke."

"Melope Priest — our good, good neighbor, grandson of priest himself — oldest man of our people in Beetfort — he have more' membering than res— he 'bout this man's family tell weel— 'bout his father, 'bout his grandfather."

Gamba looked across Vassily to Melope as if giving the cue to the old man. Releasing the gambit, he sat back in his chair. Vassily also sat back. They looked as though they were preparing themselves for a long one, a long recitation.

Melope Priest brought his eyes up from the floor, up to the ceiling where they looked for a moment as though bemusing something. He pulled at his chin — and then a gesture to his suitcoat pocket. Vassily saw the gesture — he watched the cigarette case

come out with it. Catching Melope's eye, he shook his head slowly. Melope looked at him, looked at the open cigarette case to the cigarettes he had rolled himself only that very morning. And then, shaking his head in echo of Vassily's, he snapped the case and put it back into his pocket. He brought his eyes up to the ceiling again and cleared his throat.

Finally it started. He was chanting — it must have been a chanting he was doing, for Mrs. Belmountain did not recognize it as speaking, nor was it exactly singing for his voice went along almost completely at one level in a sing-song fashion, monotonously in a falsetto. Every now and again, as for special emphasis, as though a special revelation were being made, his voice rose to a high pitch, grew in volume, or sank musingly into an abysmal low pitch. The words were not in American, nor did they sound like Armenian.

When the cue had come to Melope, he had wondered how he would do it. He could not express himself well enough in American to do Bedros' cause justice — Then how? —

"How else? —" he thought immediately, "As my father would do it. This is the only way I can do it and do Bedros' cause justive. Vassily Varan and Citizen Gamba will have to understand and help me."

He began chanting. He began telling of the Bedrosian tribe, of the deeds of the Bedrosians in the old land, of Vahan, the grandfather, of Kolga, the father, of Navart, the mother, daughter of Halma Kurngian. The words were in the Tatar dialect of Turkish.

When it was apparent what Melope was to do, Vassily and Gamba were almost astounded. They looked at him and then one to the other and back to him. But as the chanting went on, gradually first Gamba and then Vassily became resigned to

it. It was happening with them now, what could they do about it? — When an old man had a blind will of his own, all anyone could do was to resign himself to it, go along with it and hope for the best.

Melope went on. Every few lines he paused and looked to either Vassily or to Gamba. For their part, one alternating with the words Melope had just chanted in the Tatar dialect.

Melope Priest began chanting quietly. His eyes were musing and withdrawn somewhat as though something inside him were taking stock and marshalling itself:

"The tribe of Old Bedros, the tribe of Old
Bedros—
How well I remember Vahan, the son of
Old Bedros—
Such a man in the world—a traveller, the
strength of a team of oxen—
A man first among men—
If you don't believe me, ask the whole
land—
Ask Vassily, son of Varan, here — ask
Gamba, son of Nohan—
Ask, ask Keegor, son of Bildad, old and
venerable man—
He is still in the old land."

Melope was no longer looking on the floor as he sang — his head was raised and carried lightly, and his eyes were clear and direct now to the two men and now to Mrs. Belmontain herself. Every now and again, especially where his voice soared and grew loud, sounding nasally in the minor key, he even fixed the latter again and again with knowing looks, looks of emphasis. At the end of the first sentences of recitation, he looked to Vassily.

"He say," Vassily put in quickly, translating into American, "Vahan, son of Old Bedros, grandfather of this man — he is

such a man of strength and travel and leading man among his people." Vassily looked back to Melope. While Vassily had been translating, Melope had been humming to himself and musing. He was turning over the words and phrasing, how he would say the next:

"Amongst our people there was a time of
harm—
A time when, possessed by Satan, their
neighbors, the Turks,
Who they themselves only loved and
would not harm, the Turks,
Turned upon them and put them and their
women and children to the sword—
Their women and children to the sword—
Their lands and homes to fire."

Melope's voice was low and dirgeful, almost swelling with tears:

"But amongst our people," his voice started
soaring now,
"There rose up a man," higher and higher
went his voice,
"His name was Kolga," the voice was almost
ululating now,
"Kolga, son of Vahan, grandson of Old
Bedros—
He killed forty-five Turks."

Melope's voice was summarily strident and his eyes were so direct and burning on Mrs. Belmontain's eyes, his face lighted up triumphantly.

"Killed forty-five Turks," he repeated the line, looking to Gamba now.

As the old man's singing soared, Mrs. Belmontain felt a curious fluttering inside herself. She kept looking and looking at the old man's sinisterly glowing face.

"He say," Gamba put in, in his own voice sounding carefully soothing and restrained after Melop's strident shouting, "This man's

father, 'bout we talk, his father, Kolga, among our people he was great fighter against Turks." He gave the translation and looked away from Melope.

Melope kept looking at him, waiting, as though expecting more translation.

"What is that?" Melope finally put in with a cantankerous protest, "Call that a translation? — What translation? — Tell her — tell her — forty-five Turks — Kolga killed forty-five Turks."

"Pahh!" Gamba said, "Listen to me — it is not necessary to go into such — such bloody details."

"But it's true," Melope insisted with righteous eyes, "Tell him, Vassily Varan, is it not true?"

"It is true, Melope Priest," Vassily Varan said, nodding his head dubiously, "But in this case — now — I agree with Gamba — It would not do Bedros' cause much good to say everything exactly."

"Yes, yes," Gamba added, supporting his own position after Vassily's support, "Not do Bedros' cause much good — every thing does not have to be said." He said his piece and sat back, turning his eyes to Mrs. Belmountain and smiling. The two men sat back waiting. But Melope gave no signs of going on.

"Well," Gamba said finally, looking across "Well? — Well, what?" Melope said.

"Well — we haven't all afternoon — this woman, we, are waiting — on you."

Melope just sat there.

"Are you going on or aren't you?" Gamba now said with peeved impatience.

"No." Melope said, "What is the sense in making my brain think and think until I think I will have headaches — and then when I find the words and sing them out, almost bursting my throat and blood tubes doing it, you take them and make water out of them, turning them all around?"

"Pahh!" Gamba said with real impatience

in his voice, "Melope Priest I think you have become an old man — Until now I was not sure of it, but now I am sure — an old, old man." He said the last with tragic pity in his voice.

"You do not have to get personal," Melope said dropping his eyes to the floor, his face smarting a little, "I will not chant anymore — that's all there is to it — Say what you will, do what you will, I will not chant."

"This is enough," Vassily said, first looking to one and then looking to the other, "What will this woman think — chattering like parrots in Armenian all afternoon? — We must get on with Bedros' suit."

"You, then, go on," Gamba said, "Forget Melope — he is suddenly become a boer-headed old man — forget him, you go on — Forget him as if he were not here with us, as if he were gone, not here, dead — forget him." Melope Priest pulled himself in and sulked. He frowned angrily down at his feet.

"This man's family," Vassily took up the telling. He was speaking in American; he was not singing or chanting. He looked directly to her and tried to smile. His voice was proud and loud:

"This man's family among first in old land — If you don't believe me, ask Gamba Nohan — and ask," he started a motion of his head in the direction of Melope Priest but decided against it, "Ask anybody in the whole world," he amended himself, "Among the first family of our people — They own land, own land — have three storage cellars for wine, for grains, for preserves." Vassily conveyed the wonder of the family's wealth with his voice.

"A family of many men," he went on, "Leven brothers, only three sisters — All brothers become travellers — travel in Russian, in Turkey travel, even in Germany and

in 'Rabia travel — All marry, all have families of own, all live on great farm, building new houses, with grandfather, with father, with own mother brothers — All grow strong, make big, biggest tribe in my town, in old land — Everyone fear and respect Bedrosian tribe, for if hurt one Bedrosian brother, like hurting all Bedrosian brother." Vassily spoke out with great pride and a nobility of tone now, as though it was his own family he was talking about.

When he looked finally from the woman to Gamba to indicate he had concluded his part, Gamba picked up the gambit from him with a look and a clearing of his throat. Gamba's telling was unlike Melope Priest's and Vassily Varan's both. His voice was quiet, almost reverential, almost as though he were a priest saying a benediction or such.

"From this family — told 'bout by my neighbor, told 'bout by Vassily Varan," a respectful nod in his direction, "And told 'bout by my neighbor, told 'bout by Melope Priest," another nod, less enthusiastic toward the old man, "Come this man — this man we come here talk 'bout." Gamba was looking quietly to the woman now. The woman seemed more reassured now. Yet Gamba knew she was still not completely understanding, still a little perplexed by the whole thing.

"This man," Gamba went on, "Youngest of Bedrosian brothers told 'bout by my neighbor, Vassily Varan — Only Bedrosian brother who come here, come to new land — come here without brothers, without father, without mother come her — this man come here to new land." Gamba's eyes were softly knowing, underlining his words.

At this point, the kitchen door opened and the girl Milly came in from outside. Her face was damp, sweaty and flushed as though she had been running, chasing the racoon faced dog across one of the

meadows or something. She stood in the doorway looking at the three men lined up in the chairs against the kitchen wall. She looked at them but she didn't say anything.

Gamba paused in his telling and smiled to her.

"Hello, girlie," he said, "You running just now?"

"Hellw, girlie girlie," Vassily Varan said, trying to smile gallantly to her.

Melope Priest looked up from the floor and grunted. Immediately after, he looked down to his feet and went into his frowning again.

The girl walked across the floor and leaned into her mother's arms. Her mother tutted and mopped her face with the edge of her apron.

Vassily and Gamba watched the woman with the girl. Gamba watched and waited. The woman still going on with the face mopping, he decided he would go on.

Out in the living room with his back turned to the kitchen, Bedros still sat. He was hunked way down in the chair; his legs were crossed heavily and his hands were caught together on his chest. There was an air about his head and eyes which seemed to say to the whole wide world, "Out in that other room they are talking about someone — I wonder who they are talking about? And, as though to himself then, "Bachelor Bedros, for modesty's sake, you are not supposed to know who they are talking about." He uncrossed his legs and listened hard as Gamba had gone on.

"This man," Gamba's voice went on — Bedros moved with excitement in his seat — he knew the description would be direct now, and he, lucky man, how lucky he would be, seeing himself now as other men saw him, "About we talking — this man," Gamba's voice purled evenly, "Like most of his kind, marry, in old land — fittingly,

people say, a shameless woman. Under breaths cousins and friends wonder which of two tire first. At wedding feast, bride flirt, so whole land can see, with men bucks while her man look on and smile. Is good feeling have desirable woman for wife.

"It take such man enjoy and, might be, tame such woman," say people. Whole world think this man just right man for this woman.

"But, being married seem make old drum of this man — he seem loose something. He forget bachelor habits. Wherever he go he take wife now and stand over her with beek tenderness. Boom and talking with hands still with him, but now he use in family and business things. When before they win laughter and pokes in ribs from his people, now they win *tumans* and rubies into his pockets. Now he is seen more with Tiflis merchants and Musselman mayors than with own people.

"In 1927 come to 'Merica, to new land — to search of golden grapes. In old land been farmer and merchant, and, maybe, politician; now in new land he want be farmer in factory.

"Before he find job he like, job right for such beek man as himself, this man boom and speak with hands in and out factory hiring place two months. Perhaps in same time, he been too tired from business booming or just forget to boom in his house — for while he out looking work, his woman make more than eyes only with Irish neighbor, older man. In last week he hunting work, his woman pack suitcase, take suitcase, this woman, and run way with neighbor. She take this man cash savings, five and ten dollar gold piece from old land, with her too. This way it was — believe me — If you don't believe me, ask the whole land — ask Vassily Varan and ask, ask Melope Priest." Gamba had stopped at this point and was musing the sadness of his

telling. It must have been more than a minute — when suddenly he raised his face and eyes again from his musing with a changed expression, a smile and a look of joy.

"But three weeks after what his wife do, this man we talk 'bout return to old self. He two times ordinary man, as he say himself — he come back to himself half time it take any man else.

"Day of return fix in 'membering of all who know him 'mong our people. We making *kepf*, good time, at Vassily Varan's table that day, Sunday. Three clock afternoon, after first wine — there be footsteps, heavy footsteps, in hallway. This follow by slamming door, hall door; opening door, kitchen door — and there is this man, beek as buffalow and smiling only like he himself can smile.

"'Huzzah!' he boom, 'I here hagain — we all happy hagain!' Gamba was acting the thing out quietly with eyes and voice.

"First," Gamba went on, "Not know how he yet feel 'bout what happen him, company seem little hunexpect it — but soon catch on — his joy catch them all like rope. Calls come, 'Yeallah! Gaitzes, neighbor neighbor — we almost despaired of seeing you hagain. But now you with us hagain!'

"This man, he beam — he henjoy company's henjoyment of himself — reach to table, even 'fore sitting down, pick up Gamba's, my glass, and empty wine. All time Vassily Varan fill him noder glass — beek glass. Vassily Varan, he say, 'Neighbor neighbor, how is that man so much 'fraid of wet things like you yet drown himself with so much wine with pleasure?'

"But this man, he pay not tention but drink wine of Gamba's glass.

"That good, Baroon Nohan," he say, this man say, 'You not spoil it with feeble sipping of you at it.'

"Gamba, me, he smile. He try also speak

clever words — but only splutter on lips. It gian joke-maker's show. "This man, giant joke-maker, he reach for glass reach for him from Vassily Varan. He take wine and speak hagain:

"You hunderstand — even Satan bring sometimes blessed gifts — This month past now I most thru devil blessedly gifted — and it is gift that is a taking away." He say and drink wine with gulp. Company shake with laughing — ribs become sore from hitting. Everyone hunderstand his meaning — now no one worry 'bout his feeling for thing. This man with us hagain — Now hagain would be speaking with hands and rolling of eyes, hagain, and booming story telling — He, this man, recover in such way.

"This man," Gamba went on still, "About whom we talk — now in all Merica, nor in Philadelphia, nor in Shecago, nor Boston in — such man like this man is — Amongst our people, course." Gamba added the last hurriedly with a drop in his voice.

"This man," he still went on, "So great teller of stories is — so great fun-maker, so great laugher and joker is — this man is — that in whole 'Merica this man known is." In the living room Bedros felt himself almost vaulting from his seat so hardly could he contain himself.

"That, of course," Gamba's voice again dropped, adding, "Meng us, own people."

Out in the kitchen, pursuing the suit, Gamba was looking at the woman and at the girl folded in her arms. He spoke with care now — he chose his words with the greatest of care.

"This man, but," he went on, "Though seem so much man again, on outside — so much appetite — so much fun and joke maker — so big laugher — yet, inside — I know, he no fool me, Gamba Nohan — so gentle, so tender man is — So loving man is

— so good and loving, like big woman, with children is." Right in the midst of it, breaking in after those words, the girl spoke, looking up at her mother with inquiring eyes, "Where's Bedros *Aper*, Momma — Bedros *Aper*, Momma — didn't he come?" After Bedros' name she used the Armenian term of affection that she had picked up from the Nohan children during the picnics out in the meadow.

As the girl said it, Mrs. Belmountain became certain — It was of Bedros, the big man who held her so strongly with wonder a light quivering whenever he talked and laughed with her. And, she could hardly believe it — they were speaking of herself and this man in the same voice as though —

"Hush, honey," Mrs. Belmountain said, "This man is speaking now — Bedros came — he's out in the other room."

The girl rose from her mother's lap and ran out into the living room. As she went into the living room, she cried out, "Bedros, *Aper*." They could hear her feet running to him across the carpet flooring, and thought it, Bedros saying, in Armenian, "Yes, sweetie girlie — it is your Bedros *Aper*." And then in American, so she could really understand the words in addition to his feeling, "Hello, girlie, honey — Is me, yes, me — hello."

Gamba put his telling off for a moment to listen. Vassily Varan turned his head and listened. Even Melope Priest raised his head from his frowning and sulking and listened. Gamba listened and watched the woman listening too — he listened and watched before going on.

"And this man," he finally went on again, "Great much man, so strong, so full living and laughing to outside world — yet, since shame of his woman, inside is in need of something — something really not right inside." Gamba's voice became so tender, again communicating soft pity:

"Yes, need something is, this man — he lonely is now, alone, got no family is now — live alone in bed, alone in empty room, alone at kitchen table set for one, loney man." Gamba's eyes were looking almost with tears into the woman's eyes. He was certain she understood him.

"This man," he said now with near hushed reverence, "This man need woman." For a second the whole room was caught in the hush of his statement. Mrs. Belmountain watched him and watched him as he looked at her with his tender regretful eyes, and then, moving with sudden agitation, she went at her cup of coffee again.

"This man," Gamba took up the telling for the final plunge now, "I think you know — is Bachelor Bedros, our neighbor, our friend — Bachelor Bedros, sitting out in oder room — the man you know these past summer months — man who come to feel so much for your little girl." Gamba paused again before giving the final fillip.

"This man — Bachelor Bedros," Gamba measured his words now, "This man we all know and talk 'bout — this man you know, your daughter like so much — this man look for woman is — This man, he wonder if — if woman, Mrs. Beelmountain, would this woman be —" And there it was, unavoidably an open, a said thing now.

Mrs. Belmountain swallowed the remainder of her coffee quickly. The room was caught in a pause of expectancy that must have gone out into the next room also for there were no sounds coming from Bedros or the girl.

Mrs. Belmountain didn't know how she would react, what she should do — Smile to them, try to call up bearing and poise about herself, speak to them? — If speak what should she say? — Were they expecting an answer from her, a direct answer? — Were they asking her straight out like that? — And if so, why were they doing it

and not he, the man Bedros? — Why was he sitting out in the room by himself like that while they spoke for him?

She tried smiling, but it was constrained. She tried looking first to Gamba, then to Vassily, and then to the old man's bowed head. But she could not; her eyes kept fluttering and her hands kept wanting to do things.

"What — What should I say?" she finally brought out, her hands fluttering again, "This — this whole thing — so — strange." She looked with helpless confused hands in her eyes to Gamba.

"Scuse me," Gamba said, smiling with understanding, "In excitement about his thing, we did not think how this, our way of doing it, seem to you — This is old way of our people in old land — In old land, custom is friends and cousins of man speak for hand of woman — It is strange way to you, I understand, but it is only way we know how do it — When hand of woman is beg for, man should not be there, at least not in room — that why Bedros it in oder room."

"Well," the woman said, giving a nervous sigh, "Now I feel I understand — understand more —not so strange — But I — I don't know what to say — I — I—"

"Take time," Vassily put in, his voice quiet and reassuring, echoing Gamba's now, "No rush — us wait can." He sat back and folded his arms across his chest as though prepared to wait. Gamba relaxed himself too and kept watching the women. The woman looked from one to the other, and then to the third, the old man who was still looking down, his head dipped down and his eyes on his feet. Out in the other room, everything was quiet, paused.

The woman kept looking into first one man's face and then the other; her hands fussed at her chin, at her dress and at the belt of her apron. She was sucking worriedly on her bottom lip.

"I — I," she said again.

"Take time," Gamba said quietly.

"Yes, no rush," Vassily added reassuringly, tutting with his mouth and putting his hands out shushingly, reassuringly.

Melope looked up for a moment with direct, patient eyes then he looked back to the floor and his feet again.

She kept looking and looking — it was as though she were trying to find answers in their faces.

"Supposing I say, yes — not that I am," she added the latter hastily, "But supposing I say, yes — then what?" One could almost sense the excitement releasing itself from suspense into expectation in the room. Out in the other room, there were the sounds of a chair, heavily sat in, moving sharply on the floor.

"Then," Gamba said, smiling broadly with a warmth of contact with her now, "Then — marriage."

"Oh, marriage!" She said it almost as though she had not really permitted herself to expect the word.

"But, yes, marriage," Gamba said as though there could be no doubts, no doubts in the whole world about it, "Yes, marriage. We are Christian people — not musselman."

Hurriedly the woman rose from her place and poured herself another cup of coffee. As she started to pour, she turned to them. She was quite uncontained.

"Coffee?" she said, holding the pot out to them; she was already moving to them to pour more coffee into their cups.

They went through it again, Gamba saying, "No, thank you really mooch — but good, really very good coffee."

Vassily Varan said, "Thanka you moch, 'nuff."

And Melope looked up from his feet long enough to make that expression with his eyes and put his hands on his belly to indicate to her, to the whole world, that he

was full.

But then Gamba thought better of it and held out his cup for the coffee. He smiled beatifically as she poured it.

Mrs. Belmontain went back to the table. She poured her own coffee, a little over-carefully, and sat down to it, sipping at it already even before she was fully seated. Gamba raised his cup and drank after her, smilingly. Vassily Varan and Gamba kept watching her as she drank. Melope's head still hung yet now it too looked expectant.

"Yes," she said over the rim of her cup held as though for protection as she replied.

Gamba's face and eyes looked curious, as though trying to hear and understanding fuller, they released themselves into the fat warmth of a smile — he placed his cup down and got up. Vassily Varan broke out into a proud smile — he got up. Melope Priest looked up from his feet and stopped scowling — he got up and stood there looking like an old weary ape.

Out in the other room they heard a great noise of breathing and the movement of a chair and legs and feet, as if Bedros had released himself all of a moment and surged to his feet

Mrs. Belmontain was drinking furiously at her coffee now — she was shaking visibly.

Emerging like a long postponed decision, Bedros came out into the kitchen. It was the first time that afternoon for him. Looming up in the doorway, he came out into the kitchen with loud noises. Immediately he started across the floor for the woman.

"It is done— done — done now," Bedros said. But Vassily Varan and Gamba, even Melope Priest, stepped before him, blocking him. The woman was really shaking now.

"Is it not done? — Did she not say *yes*? — I heard her with my own ears," Bedros said. He looked from one of the men to the other and then to the woman.

"You not say *yes*?" he appealed directly to her.

"Did I say *yes*?" she repeated the question tremulously, she was looking to Gamba.

"Yes," Gamba put in, still holding Bedros off. "Yes, she said *yes* — But if since we started it this way, let us do it right way — the whole way — this way." He went on holding Bedros. Bedros looked at him almost pleadingly.

Finally he shook his shoulders in resignation:

"Yes, the whole thing right way." He took the chair Vassily Varan had drawn out from the table — he lined it up with the others. One by one, Bedros first, the men sat down again.

The girl was standing in the doorway to the living room. She was not smiling, yet she looked as though she were understanding the whole thing.

"Whole thing right way," Gamba said, "Now 'bout the wedding." He brought the planning underway.

When they got up to go, after more pie, more coffee, more talk, Bedros fished into his pocket after one of the Persian gold pieces, the only one overlooked by his former wife, which he now carried about with himself for a lucky piece. As he was drawing it out, Gamba saw what he was about to do.

Gamba caught Bedros's hand in time. He pushed his friend out the door ahead of himself.

"What were you about to do?" he whispered to Bedros in Armenian as they walked away from the house down the driveway, "Spoil the whole thing?"

"You said the whole way right — the way it always was — did you not? — I was just about to give her my lucky gold piece to show my pleasure in her."

"Bachelor Bedros," Gamba shook his head. "After all these years and you do not know so much about this new land — In this land, not like ours, if a man give money to a woman for a thing like that, it makes her prostitute — unless, of course, it be his whole pay — then, it is all right." Gamba held onto Bedros' arm and pushed him along.

After them, walking as quickly as they knew how, one tall and straight and stepping vigorously again, and the other walking like a bent gnome after him, came Vassily and Melope Priest. They were returning to Bedford with joy and triumph. In days, within short weeks, there would again be marriage and celebration among their people. It would be the first marriage celebration among them since they came to the new land.

ARMENIA, HER CULTURE AND ASPIRATIONS

BY THE LATE
ARSHAG MAHDESIAN

I

A village parson, upon being asked, "What is an octogenarian?" answered meditatively: "I don't know what they are, but they must be awfully sickly; you never hear of 'em but they are dying." A similar thought is probably awakened in the mind of the average American concerning the Armenians of whom one seldom hears unless they are massacred by the Turks. There are even prominent American journalists, clergymen, professors, and statesmen, who still either regard the Armenians as "Christianized Turks," or confuse them with Arminians — the followers of the Dutch theologian Arminius. Yet, the Armenians, as the protagonists on the arena of Western ideals, and as the first nation to embrace Christianity, have rendered remarkable services to civilization.

The Armenians belong to the Indo-European family of mankind. They have been depicted by impartial observers as intellectually, morally, and physically superior to most of the races surrounding them, or as "the Anglo-Saxons of the Orient."

Dr. Andrew D. White, President Emeritus of Cornell University, and late Ambassador to Germany, says:

The Armenians are a people of large and noble capacities. For ages they have main-

tained their civilization under oppression that would have crushed almost any other people. The Armenian is one of the finest races in the world. If I were asked to name the most desirable races to be added by immigration to the American population, I would name among the very first the Armenian.

Dr. Cyrus Hamlin, the founder of Robert College, Constantinople, lauds the Armenians as "a noble race;" and Dr. A. E. Winship, editor of *The Journal of Education*, declares that, "in the fibre of the Armenian character are the germs of industry, genius and thrift."

"It would be difficult," thinks Lord Byron, "to find in the annals of a nation less crime than in those of the Armenians, whose virtues are those of peace and whose vices are the result of the oppression they have undergone."

Lamartine calls the Armenians "The Swiss of the East," and Viscount Bryce writes concerning them:

Among all those who dwell in western Asia they stand first, with a capacity for intellectual and moral progress, as well as with natural tenacity of will and purpose beyond that of all their neighbours — not merely of Turks, Tartars, Kurds, and Persians, but also of Russians. They are a strong race, not only with vigorous nerves

and sinews, physically active and energetic, but also of conspicuous brain power.

Lord Cromer, speaking of different nationalities in modern Egypt, vouches that *The Armenians, more than any other people, have attained the highest administrative ranks and have at times exercised a decisive influence on the conduct of public affairs in Egypt.*

Lord Carnarvon asserts that "The Armenians in intellectual power are equal to the Greeks"; and H. F. B. Lynch considers them "peculiarly adapted to be the intermediaries" between Europe and Asia. He adds:

If I were asked what characteristics distinguish the Armenians from other Orientals, I should be disposed to lay most stress on a quality known in popular speech as grit. It is this quality to which they owe their preservation as a people, and they are not surpassed in this respect by any European nation. Their intellectual capacities are supported by a solid foundation of character, and, unlike the Greeks, but like the Germans, their nature is averse to superficial methods; they become absorbed in their tasks and plumb them deep.

Herr Haupt, a German scholar, in his book entitled, *Armenia's Past and Present*, writes:

The more we fathom their distant past, the more we begin to realize the constructive and enlightening role played by the Armenians in the world history of civilization.

Professor K. Roth says in *Armenian und Deutschland*:

The importance of the Armenian people is often ignored. The Armenians have played in antiquity, and more especially in the Middle Ages, an important role. As a factor of civilization in the Orient, the Armenian is more important than is generally realized. The Armenians are, without

doubt, intellectually the most awake amongst all the people that inhabit the Ottoman Empire. They are superior to Turks and Kurds.

II

According to Moses Khorenatzi, the great epic historian of the Armenians, the first chieftain of Armenia was Haik, "The robust hero of noble stature, with wavy hair, sparkling eyes, brave and renowned amongst the giants," who vanquished the Tyrant Belus of Babylonia and occupied a vast territory extending from the Caspian to the Black Sea and the Mediterranean, and from Pontus to the boundaries of Assyria. The appellations of Haik, Hais; Haisadan, the country of Hai; and Haieren, the language of Hai, used by the Armenians to designate themselves, their land, and their language, may have inspired Khorenatzi to create an eponymous hero, — Haik.

The Armenian plateau is described in the Annals of Assyria as the land of Nairi, cantons of which coalesced in the ninth century B. C. into the powerful Kingdom of Urartu. The Biblical references to the Kingdoms of Ararat, Minni, and Ashkenaz, obviously relate to Armenia. It was to Armenia that the sons of Sennacherib fled after slaying their father.

It is asserted, however, that the inhabitants of the kingdom about Lake Van, known to the ancient Hebrews as Ararat, and the Assyrians as Urartu, were Hittites. The Armenians, an Aryan people, invaded Ararat and the adjoining country and assimilated the original inhabitants. Luschan contends that the Armenians are the descendants, very little modified, of the Chaldeans.

The word Armina, — old Persian Armania, Persian Armenia — first appears in the

famous inscription of Behistun, 518 B.C., and is thought to have been derived from Aram, the seventh and the most illustrious king of the Haik dynasty. Historical researches of late date, however, represent Armenia as *Ar*, land; *Meni*; mountain, — *the land of mountains*. This etymological solution, also, may prove conjectural. But whatever the meaning of Armenia, the land is unquestionably mountainous, with a mineral wealth of gold, silver, copper, iron, lead, marble, saltpetre, quicksilver, and sulphur.

Above the huge tableland of Armenia, varying in elevation from 6,000 to 7,000 feet, rise massive and steep ranges of the Taurus and Anti-Taurus mountains, culminating in the famous Mount Ararat, 17,000 feet high, famed as the resting place of Noah's Ark. Between these ranges lie deep gorges and valleys, interspersed with areas of pasturages. This extensive plateau is watered by the Choruk, the Euphrates, the Kur, and the Aras rivers. There are extensive lakes. Lake Van, 5,100 feet above sea level, with an area of approximately 1,300 square miles, six times as large as the Lake of Geneva, is the most important inland water. On the plateaus where low temperatures prevail there are but steppes. In the valleys, where the temperature rises very high, grow plane-trees, poplars, peach, mulberry, rice, melons, olives, figs, grapes, tobacco, and cotton.

Armenia, at the period of her greatest territorial extent was included between the parallels of 37:30 degrees to 41:45 degrees north latitude and meridians of 37 degrees to 49 degrees east longitude, and comprised 500,00 square miles, embracing the north-east corner of Asiatic Turkey, viz., Erzerum, Van, Bitlis, Diarbekr, Harpoot, Sivas, and Cilicia; Transcaucasia, viz., Erivan, Elizabethpol, and the territory of Kars; and the northwest corner of persia,

viz., the province of Azerbaijan, with a population of about 30,00,000. This was under the reign of Tigranes II.

III

Alexander Polyhistor, a Greek writer, 175 B.C., affirms that the Armenians lived twenty centuries before Christ, and in an expedition against the powerful maritime people, the Phoenicians, conquered them, and captured many prisoners, among whom was the nephew of Abraham. An Irish publicist writes that, at the time of Phoenician commerce with the West, Armenian traders, were among them, — that every Irish name one meets ending in "an" such as Brian, O'Callahan, Sheridan, as well as the Cornish names of Trevelyan, Tressilian, and others, are but the remains of the Armenian termination *ian*.

According to some historians the Armenian King, Hurachia, assisted Nebuchadnezzar in the capture of Jerusalem, 600 B.C., King Tigranes I. allied with Cyrus in the overthrow of Babylon, 538 B.C., and Zarmair took part in the Homeric conflicts against Troy.

The Armenians, however, attained the zenith of their military glory under the reign of Tigranes II., surnamed the Great, 94-56 B.C., who by successful military efforts extended his power in all directions. He founded a new Royal City, Tigranocerta, modeling it on Nineveh and Babylon. "Tigranes made the Republic of Rome tremble before his prowess," writes Cicero; and, according to Plutarch, Lucullus said:

It is but a few days' journey from the country of the Gabiri or Sebastia into Armenia, where Tigranes, King of Kings, is seated upon his throne, surrounded with the power that wrested Asia from the Parthians; that carried Grecian colonies into Media, and subdued Syria and Palestine.

Rome could not brook Tigranes, and finally over-threw him. In deference to his valour, however, Tigranes, under the tutelage of Rome, was permitted to remain on the Armenian throne.

In later years Armenia was overtrodden by Persians, Romans, and Greeks. After the fall of the Bagratid dynasty, the Armenian nobles took refuge in the inaccessible fastnesses of the Taurus Mountains, Cilicia. Here, in 1080, Reuben founded the Kingdom of Armenia Minor that might have fared more fortunately had not her government and people spontaneously and generously championed the Crusaders. Pope Gregory XIII., writes in his Bull, *Ecclesia Romana* of the year 1584:

Among the other merits of the Armenian nation to the Church and to the Christian Republic, this in particular is eminent and deserves special remembrance — that when the princes and the armies of Christendom were on their way to the Holy Land, no other nation and no other people more promptly and more zealously than the Armenians rendered its aid in men, in horse, in arms, in food, in counsel; in a word, the Armenians, with all their strength, with the greatest fervour and fidelity, assisted the Christians in these Holy Wars.

But when the Crusades failed, and the Mohammedan fury burst over Armenia Minor, Europe remained indifferent. Sis, the Capital of Armenia Minor, was captured in 1375, and the independence of Armenia came to an end. Her last king, Leo VI., visited the courts of England and France trying in vain to establish an *entente cordiale* between them, with a view to enlisting their help for the re-establishment of the Armenian State. He died in 1393, and was buried in the Cathedral of St. Denis, Paris.

IV

The Armenians embraced Christianity

very early. Tertullian asserts that "the people of the name of Christ" were found in Armenia before the middle of the third century; and Eusebius mentions there the existence of "brethren." If the Greek Church claims Orthodoxy; the Roman, Catholicity; the Armenian Church is entitled to Apostolicity, as the Apostles Thaddeus and Bartholomew preached Christianity and suffered martyrdom in Armenia. Through the efforts of Gregory, the *Illuminator*, Christianity was made, by the royal edict of King Tiridates, the national religion of Armenia, in 301. The Emperor Constantine merely followed the example of the Armenian king when, in 313, he proclaimed Christianity the State religion of Byzantium.

How deeply the Armenian soul had become imbued with Christianity can be attested by the subsequent national martyrology. When, in the middle of the fifth century, the Persians essayed, first by promises and then by force, to have the Armenians embrace fireworship, they entirely failed. The Armenians retorted to the Persian threat:

From this faith no force can move us — neither angels nor men; neither sword, nor fire, nor water, nor any deadly punishment. . . . If you leave us our faith, we shall accept no other lord in place of you; but we shall accept no God in place of Christ. If after this great confession, you ask anything more of us, lo! our lives are in your power. From you, torments; from us, submission; your sword, our necks. We are no better than those who have gone before us, who sacrificed their wealth, and their lives for this testimony!

In the memorable Battle of Avarair, May 26, 451, known as the Armenian Marathon, 66,000 Armenians confronted 220,000 Persians. Their leader, Vartan Mamigonian, perished like a Judas Maccabeaus.

But "The Angel of Marthrydom is brother to the Angel of Victory;" a Persian general was so impressed by the tenacious resistance of the Armenians, that he exclaimed: "These people have put on Christianity not like a garment, but like their flesh and blood. Men who do not dread fitters nor fear torments, nor care for their property, and who above all choose death rather than life — who can stand against them?" The Chief of the Magi, accompanying the general, reported to the Persian King: "Even if the immortals aid us, it will be impossible to establish Mazdaism in Armenia."

Since the days of Avarair, whenever the alternative offered the Armenians has been *apostacy or the sword, they have always chosen the sword.*

During all Turkish atrocities, many thousands of Armenians, who were immolated for their Christian faith, could have saved themselves by merely pronouncing the formula of Islam and abjuring Christ. They preferred, instead, to suffer fiendish indignities and death at the hands of the blood-besotted and vice-crazed Turks. Lord Bryce says:

Of the seven or eight hundred thousand Armenians who have perished in the recent massacres, many thousands have died as martyrs, by which I mean they have died for their Christian faith when they could have saved their lives by renouncing it. This has perhaps not been realized even by those who in Europe or America have read of and been horrified by the wholesale slaughter and hideous cruelties by which half of an ancient nation has been exterminated. They can hardly understand how there should be religious persecution in our time.

V

The Armenian National Church has been distinguished for its spirit of tolerance. Sir Edwin Pears writes.

The Armenians have been more open-minded than any other of the Christian races . . . in reference to matters of religion. The Greeks will not tolerate a Roman Catholic or a Protestant missionary. But while the Armenian . . . does not look kindly on a man who changes his religion, he does not consider that it should prevent him inquiring into the truth of other forms of Christianity, or adopting them if he likes. In the sixteenth century the Armenian Church dignitaries corresponded with Erasmus and Melancthon and other reformers. . . .

The Armenians, with their passion for simplicity, have preserved the real spirit of Christianity in their Church. J. C. Stuart Glennis writes:

It was Armenian missionaries — the Paulician heretics — who sowed in Europe the seeds of its Reformation. And in the sixteenth century, that order of the Jesuits called into existence by the success of the Reformation, sent missionaries to Armenia, and carried into the birthland of Protestantism the revenge of Catholicism.

The broad, democratic base upon which the Armenian Church rests can be best understood by the method of electing the Supreme Primate, or Catholicos, of the Armenian Church, whose seat has, since 309, been at Etchmiadzin, which with its Supreme Synod, Theological Seminary, and Cathedral, corresponds to the Vatican.

Upon a vacancy of the throne of the Catholicos, the Supreme Synod issues invitations to all Armenian dioceses, whether in Russia, Turkey, Persia, or elsewhere, calling upon them each to name two deputies, one clerical and one lay, who after the lapse of a year shall meet at Etchmiadzin and cast their votes. These deputies, should they be unable to attend in person, may signify their vote by letter. The ordinaries of the Armenian Church, also, are elected by diocesan councils, six-sevenths of whose

members are laymen.

The Armenians, on account of the fluctuating fortune of their temporal power, regard their Church not merely as a spiritual citadel, but also as the focus of national aspirations and learning. The Catholicos St. Sahak, 353-439, essayed to revive a purely national literature. His difficulties were almost insuperable, as the Armenians lacked an alphabet of their own. But his friend and collaborator, Bishop Mesrop, after long and painstaking labors, succeeded in devising an alphabet in 404. It consists of thirty-six characters, "A Waterloo of an Alphabet" in the poetic diction of Lord Byron, who studied Armenian at the famous Armenian Mekhitarist Convent, St. Lazzaro, Venice, 1816-1818, and recommended it as a "rich language" that "would amply repay one the trouble of learning it."

The Armenian language belongs to the Indo-European group. Many English words spring from the same root as the Armenian, *viz.*, eye, *ag*; foot, *vod*; mother, *mair*; daughter, *dooster*; thou, too; *ass*, esh; door, *toor*; hair, *heir*; son, *san*; sore, *zor*; un — *an* —; and — *tion*, — *toun*.

Hubschmann, Meillet, Villefroi and St. Martin have made valuable studies of the Armenian language, which has been described as "a plastic and noble language, capable of rendering faithfully, yet not servilely, the Greek Bible and the Greek Fathers."

The immediate result of St. Sahak's and Bishop Mesrop's activities was an intellectual and literary revival, known as the "Golden Age of Armenian Literature." During this period many didactic, religious, and historical books were written, and translations made from the Greek. The first book the Armenians undertook to translate was the *Bible, from the Greek Septuagint. It was completed, in 433, so successfully and faithfully as to be called, by La Croze,*

"The Queen of Versions." Other translations were as excellent. It is asserted that were the *Anabasis of Xenophon* lost, it could be reproduced from the Armenian version. The *Chronicles of Eusebius*, the *Homilies of St. John Chrysostom*, and two works of *Philo on Providence*, survive only in Armenian.

Although there are fragments of Armenian pagan songs preserved in the historical works of Movses Khorenatzzi, the Armenian literature really begins under the dominant power of the Church. It was not until the twelfth century that the poetic spirit of the Armenians broke the ecclesiastical bonds imposed upon it. The secularization of the Armenian literature received a fresh impetus when, in 1488, about fifty years after the invention of printing by Gutenberg, Armenian immigrants in Venice and Amsterdam, constructed Armenian characters and began to print the manuscripts of their great authors, and publish translations from the classics. Sir Henry Norman considers the ancient, mediaeval and modern Armenian literature comparable with the literature of any other nation. Robert Arnot writes:

As a people the Armenians can not boast of as vast a literature as the Persians, their one-time conquerors, but that which remains of purely Armenian prose, folk-lore, and poetry tells us of a poetic race, gifted with imaginative fire, sternness of will, and persistency of adherence to old ideals, a race that in proportion to their limited production in letters can challenge comparison with any people.

Being exposed to the incessant invasions and depredations of hostile races, the Armenians never enjoyed that leisure and tranquility of mind, necessary for the highest artistic development. Sir Edwin Pears writes:

I believe the Armenian to be the most

artistic in Turkey. Many paint well, and some have made reputations in Russia and France. Amateur painting is so general as to suggest that the race has a natural taste for Art. The picture gallery on the Island of Lazzaro at Venice contains many works of art by Armenians which won the approval of Ruskin.

H.F.B. Lynch, who visited the imposing ruins of Ani, the capital of the Bagratid Dynasty, and studied its monuments, asserts that the Armenians were the originators of the Gothic style of architecture. One of the most perfect specimens of Byzantine architecture, built in 1517-1526, at Curtea de Argesh, Rumania, was, according to the Encyclopaedia Britanica, the work of an Armenian. It was an Armenian architect, Sinan, who designed and built that famous Mosque of Adrianople, and the Mosque of Suleyman in Constantinople; and Armenian architects, the Balians, constructed the Palaces of Cheragan, of Beyler-bey, and of Dolma Bahche, "which might be taken," writes Theophile Gautier, "for a Venetian Palace — only richer, vaster, and more highly embellished — transported from the Grand Canal to the Banks of the Bosphorus."

VI

Although Armenia, on account of her geographical position, was exposed to constant invasions, yet not only did she maintain her civilization and culture, but she also furnished many illustrious leaders to foreign lands. Dadarshis, the interpid general whom Darius Hystapis chose to support the Achaemenidae Dynasty, was an Armenian. So was Nerves, the valiant and the renowned, the favourite of Theodora, who rendered the armies of Justinian invincible. It was to an Armenian, Proeresus, the teacher of Nazianzene, of St. Basil, and of Julian the Apostate, that Rome erected a

statue with this inscription: *Regina rerum Roma, Regi eloquent; Rome the queen of the world to the king of eloquence.*

Isaac, the Armenian Exarch of Ravenna, held the destiny of Italy in his hands, 625-643. Herr Gelzer, an authority on Byzantine History, asserts that the period of the Armenian Emperors was the most glorious in the history of Byzantium. Armenian Emperors — Maurice, Philippicus-Bardanes, Leo V., Basil I., the founder of the Macedonian Dynasty, John Zimisces, and Constantine VII. Porphyrogenitus — made Byzantium a flourishing center of civilization. Basil II., the Conqueror of Bulgaria, ended the menace of a Russian invasion, strengthened Italy against the pretensions of the German Emperor Otto II., and made of the Venetians a sure ally against the Saracens. The Armenian Empress Theodora, 1042-1056, reigned with such wisdom and secured for Byzantium such peace and prosperity, that her reign was called the Golden Era of Augusta.

In 1410 all the Armenian nobility assisted the armies of Ladislaus Jagiello and contributed to the victory in the battle of Grunwaldt. "Had not," according to Polish assertions, "the hydra-head out of which was later to spring the Prussian kingdom been crushed" in this memorable battle, "the German deluge would have effaced Poland then, as it has submerged and obliterated the western Slavs on the banks of the Elbe, the Spree and the Oder. Without Grunwaldt there would have been no Poland!"

When the Turks in 1683, besieged Vienna, the gate of Christian Europe, five thousand valiant Armenian warriors succoured the army of King Sobieski, and turned the tide of battle by hurling the Moslem hordes back to the Danube.

It was the diplomacy of Israel Ori that enabled Russia to vanquish Persia. The

victorious generals in the Russian army — Madatoff, Melikoff, Der Ghoukassoff, Lazareff, Baboutoff, Chelkonikoff, and Alkazoff were all Armenians. The correspondent of *The London Times* writes:

The way in which General Der Ghoukassoff conducted his men at Taghir on the 16th of June, 1877, when with his eight divisions he completely annihilated Mohammed Pasha's twelve divisions; the stubborn resistance by which, at Utch Kisse, he stopped the advance of Moukhtar Pasha; the heroic retreat which he effected against the twenty-three divisions of Ahmet Pasha; his remarkable subsequent dashing assault on Bayazid, the defeat of the Turkish army, which was twice as strong as his own, and the relieving of the besieged place, . . . are such splendid feats of arms that they prove him to be a general of the highest rank.

General Melikoff was not merely a soldier, but also a great administrative reformer. He drew for Russia a constitution, which Alexander II., had he not been assassinated, would have promulgated, on March 1, 1881.

Nubar Pasha, the deliverer and generator of Egypt, and twice its Prime Minister; Prince Malcolm Khan, one of the earliest apostles of the Persian reform movement, and Eprem Khan, the hero and the martyr of the Persian revolution, whom the British Press hailed as the "Garibaldi of the East," were Armenians. Shall we mention the distinguished tragedian, Adamian, whom Russian criticism has proclaimed superior to Salvini and Rossi in the interpretation of Hamlet; the inimitable marine painter, Hovannes Aivazovski; the mineralogist, Andreas Artzrouni, who enjoyed worldwide reputation; Hovannes Althen, who taught France the cultivation of rubic tinctorum, and whose statue stands now in the Duchy of Avignon; M. Manouelian, whose most valuable discoveries have placed him

in the first rank of the histologists of our epoch; Edgar Shahin, the greatest drypoint artists, according to eminent French critics like Roger Marx and Gustave Gefroy; H. Mahokian, whose paintings have won many prizes in the Berlin Salon; Vittoria Aganoor Pompily, the lamented poet of Italy; and M. Lucaz, the former Premier of Austria-Hungary?

The Armenians have not been less prominent in the United States; witness the late Governor Thomas Corwin, of Ohio, also at one time Secretary of the United States Treasury; the late Dr. Mihran K. Kassabian the distinguished scientist of Philadelphia, and the foremost Roentgen rays investigator in the world; Dr. Menas Gregory, the eminent psychiatrist of Bellevue Hospital; Mooshegh Vaygouny, a graduate of the University of California, who developed a synthetic method of converting grape sugar into tartaric acid; Mugurdich Garo, the famous photographer of Boston, unquestionably one of the greatest in America, who originated the Garograph; M. Mangasarian, the eloquent exponent of liberal thought in America; Haig Patigian, the distinguished sculptor, who was awarded the prize for the execution of a monument to commemorate the rebuilding of San Francisco; and Dr. Christopher Seropian, the inventor of the green color of the American paper dollar. Even the first American soldier to land at Manila, in the Spanish-American war, was an Armenian, according to Nessib Behar, Managing Direc-

* Since the publication of this article, other Armenians also have become distinguished,—such as Michael Arlen and William Saroyan, in literature; Calusd Chilingirian, Arshag Fetvedjian, Sarkis Khachadourian, Vart Melikian, Hovsep Pushman, Mihran Serailian, Panos Terlemezian, Manuel Tolegian, and Loudvig Yacobian, in painting; Henry Lion and Nishan Toor, in sculpture; Armen Shah-Mouradian and Armand Tokatyan, in singing; Haroutune M. Dadourian and Vledmir Karapetoff, in Science; Rouben Mamoulian, in the production of motion pictures, and Varaztad Kazanjian, in surgery.

*tor of the National Liberal Immigration League.**

VII

In 1514 the Persians surrendered Armenia to the Turks. It may readily be surmised what the fate of the gifted and progressive Armenians would be under the dominion of a people concerning whom the Pope, in 1456, had deemed the addition of the following invocation to the *Ave Maria* imperative: "Lord, save us from the devil, the Turk and the comet."

The Turks belong to the Turanian hordes of Central Asia. With their appearance civilization invariably vanished, in Syria, Mesopotamia, Byzantium, Arabia, Egypt, Armenia, and Greece. Victor Hugo admirably describes this blighting influence of the Turks as follows: *Les Turcs ont passé là, tout est ruine et devil.* "They (the Turks) were upon the whole," declares Gladstone, "from the black day when they first entered Europe, the one anti-human specimen of humanity. Wherever they went, a broad line of blood marked the track behind them; and as far as their dominion reached, civilization disappeared from view." The Turk has no consanguinity with the Arab, and hence no claim upon his civilization. He is heartily despised by the Arab, one of whose bards sings:

*Three things naught but evil work—
The locust, the vermin, and the Turk.*

The Armenians, by their Christianity and by their genius, have been the representatives of Western civilization in Turkey. While the Turks furnish the criminals, the Armenians furnish savants, physicians, artisans, and merchants. The Armenian traders in Turkey were so successful that the *Financial News*, Manchester, England, wrote years ago: "The commerce of the future belongs to the Scotch, the Germans, and the Armenians."

It was through the collaboration of two great Armenian statesmen, Odian and Servicen, that Midhat Pasha succeeded in framing the Turkish Constitution, which was proclaimed by Abdul Hamid on his accession to the throne, and then prorogued.

The first newspaper ever published in Turkey, eighty-seven years ago, was an Armenian periodical. The introduction of Turkish printing and the establishment of theatres were accomplished by Armenians — Muhandisian and Chouhajian. Were it not for the Armenian philologists, like Gurdukians, the Turks would not even have had a grammar of their own language.

For many years the chief directors of the Turkish arsenals and the Government Mint were Armenians — Dadian and Duzian. The fine stuffs, the embroideries, the tapestry, and the jewelry admired in Europe and America as Turkish products, are almost exclusively manufactured by Armenians.

The field of activities of French, American, and later German missionaries, who went to Turkey for educational and evangelical purposes, was strictly confined to the Armenian communities.

General Sherif Pasha, A Turkish exile in Paris, told the truth when he declared, as reported in the columns of *The New York Times* of October 10, 1915, that:

If there is a race which has been closely connected with the Turks by its fidelity, by its services to the country, by the statesmen and functionaries of talent it has furnished, by the intelligence which it has manifested in all domains — commerce, industry, science, and the arts — it is certainly the Armenian.

Dr. P. Rohrbach, the German author, confirms the same fact. He writes: "We may say without exaggeration that not only in Armenia proper, but also far beyond its boundaries, the economic life of Turkey rests, in great part, upon the Armenians."

Dr. V. Rosents, a great authority on Near Eastern affairs, says in *Tagliche Rundschau*:

The Armenians, industrious, sober, and zealous, occupied principally with agriculture, with raising cattle, and with manufacturing carpet — can be considered the possessors of the highest civilization in Asia Minor. Thanks to their aptitude and their intelligence, the Armenians . . . occupy the highest positions in Turkey.

The whole population of the Turkish Empire was estimated at 32,000,000 of whom only 2,380,000 were Armenians. Yet the Armenians had 785 educational institutions with more than 82,000 students, whereas the Turks could not boast of more than 150 schools, with only 17,000 pupils. In order to demonstrate the economic power of the Armenians in the Turkish Empire, Marcel Leart records the fact that of 166 importers in Sivas, which has the smallest Armenian population of the six Armenian provinces, 141 are Armenians, 13 Turks, and 12 Greeks; of 150 exporters, 127 are Armenians and 23 Turks; of 37 bankers and capitalists, 32 are Armenians and only 5 Turks; of 9,800 shopkeepers and artisans, 6,800 are Armenians and only 2,550 Turks, the rest being divided among various other nationalities. The same is true of native industry: of 153 factories and flour mills, 130 belong to Armenians, 20 to Turks, and 3, carpet concerns, to foreign or mixed companies. The directors of all these establishments are Armenians exclusively. The number of employees is about 17,000, of whom 14,000 are Armenians, 2,800 Turks, 200 Greeks and others.

The Turks, being another version of Kriloff's snake that bites the glowworm because it is shining, massacre the Armenians. "It is absurd," confided the Mayor of Smyrna to an English traveler, "that we can govern the Armenians — a people so

much abler than we."

Because the Armenians are very brave, the Turkish authorities did not permit them the possession of arms. Dr. J. Lepsius writes in his book, entitled *Armenia And Europe*, that "Christians indeed, and Christians alone, are by statute forbidden to carry arms." As an example of Armenian valour, Viscount Bryce mentions the heroic resistance of the Zeitunlis, who proudly called themselves "The British of Asia Minor — unsubdued and unsubduable," writes:

These Zeitunlis had only seven or eight thousand fighting men, but the strength of their position enabled them to repel all attacks; and, like the Montenegrins, to develop a thoroughly militant type of manhood. They are a rude, stern people, with no wealth and little education, and practising no art except that of iron-working — for there is plenty of iron in the mountains that wall them in. From 1800 till now they had forty times been in conflict with the Turks; in 1836 they successfully resisted the Egyptian invaders; and in 1859 and 1862 they repulsed vastly superior Turkish armies. In 1864, by European intervention, a sort of peace was arranged, and in 1878 a fort was erected, and the people were obliged to admit a Turkish garrison, which in 1895 was 600 strong. The Zeitunlis had laid in a stock of grain in anticipation of a general attack by Turks upon Christians, and had for some little while noticed that arms were being distributed by the Turkish officials among the Moslems. When the massacres began in northern Syria in November, 1895, they perceived that they would be the next victims, rose suddenly, and besieged the garrison. After three days the Turks, whose water supply had been cut off, surrendered. The Armenians, disarming them and arming themselves with rifles which they found in the arsenal, had also weapons enough to supply some of the neighbouring villages,

and were able to take the field against the Turkish army which was advancing against them, and which is said to have been at times 6,000 strong. They repulsed the Turks, with great loss, in a series of hard-fought fights, and kept them at bay till February, 1896. Through the mediation of the British Ambassador at Constantinople, terms of peace were arranged in pursuance of which the siege was raised, and no fresh garrison placed in the town. The most perilous moment had been one when, the fighting men being all absent, the imprisoned Turkish soldiers had risen and sought to set fire to the town. The women, however, proved equal to the occasion. They fell upon the Turks and saved the town.

When, just prior to the deportations of 1915, Zeitun prepared to resist, the Ottoman authorities intimated to them, through the Armenian Catholicos of Cilicia, that, if they resisted, reprisals would be made upon their defenseless kinsmen in the plain. The elders of Zeitun, like the Armenian leaders throughout the empire, were determined to go almost any lengths in order to keep the peace. So the majority surrendered, and they were reported to have withdrawn to the loftier recesses of the mountains.

During the World War the Armenians, fighting either as regulars in the Russian Army or as volunteers in the ranks of the Grand Alliance, displayed remarkable courage and heroism. At a meeting of the Indian section of the Royal Society of Arts, the Right Honorable Viscount Bryce, lauding the martial qualities of the Armenians, declared that the Armenian warriors had shown the utmost courage and valour in the combats before Verune.

Francis Rogers, writing from a French Port to the New York *Times*, described the Armenian volunteers from America as "a band of crusaders," who "marched resolutely away, a French flag at the head of the

column, flanked by the Armenian and American colors." Then he asked admiringly: "Can even this war offer a more inspiring example of patriotism and self-sacrifice?"

VIII

The chronic massacres with which, as Sir Edwin Pears once remarked aptly, the Turk has tried to maintain his supremacy ever since the capture of Constantinople, grew so appalling that Mr. E. Canthlow thus characterized the plight of the Armenians: "The very wrongs that made the French peasantry rise and in one deluge of blood sweep a corrupt aristocracy from their land are being enacted with tenfold horrors in Turkey to-day." Marshal von Moltke, who traveled extensively in Turkey and who was by no means a Turkophobe, asserted that security for Christians could never be had under the Turkish rulers.

Finally the constant appeals of the martyred Armenians to Christian Europe were answered by Article LXI. of the Treaty of Berlin, signed on July 13, 1878, that read:

The Sublime Porte undertakes to carry out, without further delay, the improvements and reforms demanded by local requirements in the provinces inhabited by Armenians, and to guarantee their security against the Circassians and Kurds. It will periodically make known the steps taken to this effect to the Powers, who will superintend their application.

Furious at the Armenian temerity in demanding reforms, the Turkish government increased its persecutions and encouraged the Kurds to slay and pillage their Armenian neighbors. From 1884 to 1896 more than three hundred thousand Armenians were massacred; then followed the Adana holocaust, with a total of sixty thousand Armenian victims. When the Young Turks

entered the war in the latter part of October, 1914, Talaat and Enver plotted to "solve the Armenian Question by extirpating the whole nation" — hence the deportation of the Armenians, just after the failure of the Dardanelles expedition.

But no Talaat or Enver can annihilate the Armenians, who are endowed with a wonderful power of recuperation and resilience, and who have arisen, phoenix-like, from calamities that might have proved fatal to any other nation. The Armenians have believed that whoever creates in pursuit of enlightenment and ideals, that whoever endeavors to serve the immortal gods, may be subjected to the excruciating tortures of Prometheus or may endure the sorrows of Niobe, but shall never die.

Several years ago, Dr. James L. Barton, Secretary of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, and formerly President of Euphrates College, Harpoort, Armenia, declared: "Give the Armenian capital and righteous government and he will turn the whole of Turkey into a Garden of Eden in ten years."

In the past this people of remarkable potentialities has been offered fire and sword; it is entitled now to an opportunity for achievement — *to the enjoyment of complete independence.*

As diplomatic relations are severed between the United States and the progeny, or shall we say progenitor of Barbarism — Turkey, the opportunity is presented, at last, to achieve a most memorable victory for humanity — the liberation of crucified Armenia.

When, during a bloody recrudescence of Turkish savagery, in 1905, many Armenians were slaughtered, Julia Ward Howe, the seer and poet of liberty, asked indignantly of an apathetic world:

*Still does complacent Europe smirk
At the pledged promise of the Turk?*

*As fruitless as their sympathies —
Who rail at his iniquities,
But never yet have plucked up heart
To act a valiant champion's part?*

Then, also, prominent Europeans — amongst them Bjorstjerne Bjornson and Fridtjof Nansen, of Norway; General Booth, of the Salvation Army; Professor Wundt, of Leipzig; M. Berthelot, Professor Ernest Lavisse, Jules Claretie, Leon Bourgeois, Ludovic Halévy, Anatole Leroy-Beaulieu, and Louis Blanc, of France; and thirty-one Senators and twenty-five Deputies of France, two Senators and eleven Deputies of Italy, two Senators and forty-seven Deputies of Belgium, one Deputy of Sweden, and eight Deputies of Denmark, fourteen English Bishops, fifty-one Professors of the Universities of Great Britain and the Continent, besides many eminent citizens of Norway, Sweden, Denmark, Holland, Germany, Austria, Italy, Scotland, and Ireland, petitioned President Roosevelt to save from total annihilation "the Armenian people whose origin is the same as ours, and who have played an important part in the development of civilization since ancient times."

In response to the appeal, the Honorable Elihu Root, Secretary of State, wrote, on January 26, 1906:

" . . . The sympathy of the American people with the oppressed of every country has been repeatedly expressed by various branches of this Government, and in the case of the unfortunate Armenians, has been eloquently voiced by the American nation itself. There is no room for doubt in any quarter as to the desire of the President that these Armenians should possess the security of life and property which it has been the concerted aim of the European Powers to assure to them. The sufferings of the Armenian subjects of Turkey cry aloud for remedy and redress. They

shock the humanitarian sense of all mankind. . . No right-minded man can witness such occurrence without craving the power to prevent them. I most sincerely wish that the United States had the power. . ."

Perhaps the *non possumus* attitude of the United States Government toward Armenia was diplomatically justified. Our country was not one of the signatory Powers which had guaranteed, in Article LXI. of the Treaty of Berlin, "ameliorations and reforms" for the provinces inhabited by the Armenians.

How entirely changed the situation now! A terrible conflagration, which blazed from the smouldering embers of ruined hearths of small nations, and which threatens the fabric of modern civilization with destruction, has bestowed upon the United States the power craved by the Honorable Elihu Root.

It has, also, nearly materialized the war devoutly desired several years ago by the late Bishop McCabe, who, deeply aroused by fiendish Turkish atrocities, exclaimed:

I do not want wars and I do not like them, but there is just one war I would like to live to see. I would like to see the United States and British Governments form an alliance and make Turkey stop her Armenian murders.

The hour is propitious, therefore, for the Government of the United States to wield effectively in behalf of Armenian freedom the flaming sword of liberty is brilliantly and altruistically unsheathed.

Our Allies-in-civilization have one and all, on various occasions, announced solemnly that they are "fighting first and foremost for the liberties of small nations." Our great President has proclaimed that "we shall fight for the things which we have always carried nearest our hearts — for democracy, for the right of those who

submit to authority to have a voice in their own governments, for the rights and liberties of small nations, for a universal dominion of right by such a concert of free peoples as shall bring peace and safety to all nations and make the world itself at last free."

The Honorable Herbert H. Asquith, Sir Edward Grey, M. Aristide Briand, the Honorable Arthur J. Balfour, and the Honorable David Lloyd George have pledged to the Armenian people "liberation and a life of peace and progress."

In acknowledging congratulations tendered him by the Armenian Young Men's Association of Marseilles, France, Marshall Joffre replied:

I thank you for your sincere congratulations. I do not doubt that our armies will vanquish, for the triumph of right and justice, the barbarian enemy; and that the oppressed nations, amongst whom are the Armenians, will resume their worthy places.

The identical sentiment was expressed by Anatole France, who said, at the Sorbonne mass-meeting held in honor of Armenia:

After the victory of our armies, which are fighting for justice and liberty, the Allies will have great duties to fulfill; and the most sacred of them will be to bestow life again on the martyred nations,—on Belgium, on Serbia. They will also insure the safety and the independence of Armenia.

Turning to her, they will say, "Sister, arise! Suffer no longer! Thou art henceforth free to live in accordance with thy genius and thy faith!"

According to an Icelandic saga, a woman drops the bloody robe of her murdered husband upon a friend in order that he avenge his death. Outraged Humanity now drops the mantle of bleeding Armenia upon the shoulders of the United States and our Allies. The revenge it demands is not blood,

but the restoration of Armenia's lost independence, through the establishment of a new Armenian Republic, which shall include Van, Erzerum, Bitlis, Diarbekr, Sivas, Harpoot, Cilicia; the districts of Erivan and Kars-Russian Armenia; and the Province of Azerbaijan-Persian Armenia.

Before the recent Armenian calamity, there were 4,160,000 Armenians. The Turkish Empire contained 2,380,000; Russia, 1,500,000; the United States, 100,000; Persia, 64,000; Egypt, 40,000; India, 20,000; Austria-Hungary, 20,000; Bulgaria, 20,000; Rumania, 8,000; Europe and Cyprus, 8,000. Therefore, we shall have enough Armenians to populate the new Armenian State.

The dictum of Gladstone, "To serve Armenia is to serve civilization," is not merely a hortatory effusion. It must be realized that an independent, united Armenia will be the only bulwark against the *drang nach osten* policy of Pan-Germanism, the perennial menace to the peace of the world.

Again, the establishment of an independent and united Armenia will insure the triumph of justice. If justice be denied to small nationalities, if their rights and aspirations be subordinated to the interests of the great States, then even if the Allies win the war it is Prussianism that will triumph.

In 1906, Professor Angelo Hall, of the Annapolis Naval Academy, wrote:

Self-interest prompts the nations to let Turkey go on with her work of exterminating the Armenians; and the nations may yet pay a heavier penalty for their crime than we paid for slavery.

That prophecy of calamity is fulfilled now, and the Great Powers will not be able to escape their downfall if, after this war, there remain one nation in bondage, because, as enunciated by Aeschylus, "Greatness is no defence from utter destruction

when one insolently spurns the mighty altar of justice."

Monsignor Touchet, Bishop of Orleans, France, speaking on the Armenian question at the Madeleine Chapel in Paris said:

I would like to see Europe, that wept over Uncle Tom's Cabin, think over the outrages perpetrated by the Turks in Armenia. Eight centuries ago a lesser injustice than these crimes would have caused an avenging Crusade. Germany must stand eternally condemned for her complicity in these outrages, and it is the duty of the Allied Powers, fighting now against the Central Empires, to grant freedom to Armenia. Otherwise the remnant of this unfortunate nation will become anarchists, and if they were to destroy Constantinople by dynamite, I, a bishop, standing before the altar of Christ, would without any compunction pronounce their action not only justified, but even sanctified.

"Italy," declared once Mazzini, "wills to be a nation, and one she must become—happen as it may." Armenia not only *wills*, but has also suffered immeasurably to be an independent nation, *and independent she must become—happen as it may*.

This catastrophic war, born of Teutonic iniquity, has ultimately been transformed, by the participation of America, into a crusade for the liberation of small nationalities. President Wilson takes it for granted "that statesmen everywhere are agreed that there should be a united, independent, and autonomous Poland, and that henceforth inviolable security of life, of worship, and of industrial and social development should be guaranteed to all peoples who have lived hitherto under the power of Governments devoted to a faith and purpose hostile to their own."

The cause and the plight of Poland and Armenia are similar, as has been emphasized by Gustave Herve in his *La Victoire*.

Therefore, paraphrasing the last lines of Dr. Henry Van Dyke's sonnet, entitled *America's Way*, we may write:

*Thou canst now break the oppressor's ironrod,
And thou canst help and comfort the oppressed;*

*Thou canst now loose the captive's heavy chain,
And thou canst bind his wounds and soothe his pain.
Armenia calls thee, Sovereign of the West,
To act the Liberator's part for God!*

Metropolis of Mysteries

Look up and listen,
For the wind is telling us
Of the vast metropolis of space
Still to be conquered.

Look up to see the lightening pierce the sky,
Then listen while the rain, like pin points
Falls around you quick and hard.
While cold blasts of wind hit against your face.
Thunder silences your cry.

Look up to see the Silver Bird
Soar up into the sky,
Daring to break the strange silence of space,
And claiming the universe of mysteries,
For mankind in eternal peace.

GERRI CHUCHIAN

In the Armenian emancipatory struggle, parallel with their revolutionary activity, the Armenian revolutionaries relied heavily on the value of propaganda and diplomatic labor toward the achievement of their goal. With the passing of time and the resultant changes in the international political setting the nature of this type of labor naturally has undergone commensurate changes, nevertheless, in the latter part of the 19th and at the start of the 20th centuries propaganda and diplomatic liaison were very lively issues for the Armenians.

In the accompanying article the author Mr. Ozanian chiefly draws from Arshak Vramian, noted Armenian journalist, political and civic leader, and editor of the "Hairenik" of Boston from 1899 to the beginning of 1907. While rejecting the extremes of "the utter uselessness of propaganda," or "its indispensability to the Armenian cause," Mr. Vramian, as Mr. Ozanian points out, chose the happy medium, and as such, he offered suggestions and directions which in essential outlines, have proved the Armenian charter of procedure ever since. Vramian's *piece de resistance*, as the perusal of this article will show, consists of his firm conviction in the indispensability of the Armenian race to the civilized world based upon two postulates: first, the proven role of the Armenian as the exponent of the western mind in the East throughout the centuries, and second, the wisdom and the profitableness of the maintenance of an independent Armenian state in the interests of the western cause. From the historical viewpoint, as an illustration of how the Armenian mind reacted to the challenge of propaganda activity at a certain stage of the Armenian revolution, the Vramian views still retain their wise and robust character in the unfinished work of Armenia's liberation. — EDITORS

VRAMIAN ON THE VALUE OF DIPLOMACY AND PROPAGANDA

MEROOJAN OZANIAN

Do the so-called pro-Armenian propaganda and parallel diplomatic labor with the big powers have any real value for the Armenian cause? This is a question which has caused many a clash of opposing views as early as 35-40 years ago and even earlier. The question has been answered both in the negative and the affirmative. Vramian adhered to neither extreme but chose the middle road.

Those who have placed great hopes in diplomatic labor and the value of propaganda among non-Armenian peoples have always been led by one consideration. A

battered and beaten people like the Armenians, the reasoning goes, cannot become free without the active aid of outsiders. Being weak and unorganized, the Armenian will never win his freedom from the Turk by armed might since the latter is incomparably stronger and better organized. Such a test of strength would simply be a fight between the lamb and the wolf, the end of which cannot remain a mystery even to the most simple-minded reasoner. In our present condition, continuing the same logic, we are worth no more than the lamb, and whether or not

we want it, we are forced to rely on the mercy of the Christian powers.

Others, standing solidly on the opposite view, find the solution of the Armenian question solely in the might and the strength of the arm. Protagonists of this view have considered it harmful, or sheer waste of time, to dabble in futile diplomacy or even propaganda, because such efforts, aside from being absolutely useless, dissipate and debilitate the people's will power, divide its forces, and weaken its will to resist by inspiring false hopes and illusive dreams.

Without doubt both these views are extremes and no sane reasoner would commit himself to either. It is no surprise, therefore, that Vramian, too, opposed both extremists. "If by 'foreign propaganda' we are to understand that we shall once again unreel before the outsiders our tears and the tedious story of our massacres and terrors, such a procedure will not only fail to help us, but it will hurt our prestige. The beggar who, standing at one end of the bridge,¹ exhibits the repulsive scars and gnarls of his decrepit body, or relates the story of the raping of our women or our being butchered like sheep, cannot entice pity. The pedestrians will not much care for such a mendicant, at the most, turning aside, their will fling a scornful mite into their cup and hurry on their way."²

"Or, if by 'diplomatic work' we shall understand that we shall remind the foreign governments that we were the first people of history to accept Christianity," continues Vramian, "that the Armenians of Cilicia assisted the Crusaders, that the Armenian translation of the Bible has been

hailed as 'The Queen of Versions,' and so on, then let us freely admit that such a form of diplomacy, too, will give us nothing positive. Who cares if a king named Abear was the first Christian? Or what is it worth that once upon a time we helped the Crusaders? That our Bible is the best of translations? Christianity and humanity are empty sounds for Germany which has been grinding under its heel helpless Alsace-Lorraine, Schleswig and Poland, or for Austria from whose claws Italy was only lately liberated, and for England which has been bleeding Ireland dry.³

"Therefore, all those who want to move the pity of Europe by weeping and wailing and imploring and pretending to be impotent beggars will never gain any thing. This type of diplomats and propagandists, no matter how hard they beat their heads against a stone wall, will never gain an ounce of aid from any source."

Certain revolutionaries, or the revolutionaries of certain periods, have rejected the wisdom of prosecuting the Armenian liberational cause through diplomatic channels. Such men, in their fanatical zeal, have looked upon all activity outside of the fatherland (diplomatic relations with foreign powers) of secondary importance. The question arises, should the revolutionary reject the value of diplomatic intervention by foreign powers? Never! Exclaims Vramian, and this for two reasons.

"The great house (domain) in which we claim our legal share," he writes in another article, "is not the exclusive property of the Sultan. That house is under third and fourth mortgages ever since the Paris Treaty of 1851. That house has its trustees — the so-called 'Big Powers.' It would be silly, therefore, to think that we could take hold of any port of that mortgaged property without their consent."

¹ The figure is taken from the Istanbul bridge which connects the European and Asiatic sides across the Golden Horn. Anciently, either side of the bridge was infested with platoons of beggars.

² "Hairenik," 1903, June 27.

³ Ibid.

The second reason, according to Vramian, is this.

"Even the most orthodox revolutionary is forced to admit that we Armenians cannot wage regular war against the Turk, drive him off our borders, or force him to accept our terms. Aid from the outside is necessary for us to shatter our chains. And we have always nurtured this hope in our hearts because the precedents are before our eyes. In all of our revolts — the revolt of Zeitun, the seizure of Bank Ottoman, the fights in Samatia, the expedition of Khanasor, the seizure of the Monastery of Arakelotz (The Apostles), etc., we have invariably been supported by the covert hope that Europe would not abandon us."⁴

However, both diplomatic activity and pro-Armenian propaganda will avail nothing, Vramian hastens to add if first, "we shall not create the manly Armenian, the Armenian who protests with arms in hand, the rebellious Armenian. Then Europe will perforce intervene to restore the peace in Asia Minor where the powers have so many conflicting interests. This advice was given to us even by the foreigners. The Armenian delegates to the Congress of Berlin in 1878 heard this reproach from more than one diplomat, 'You should have come here with guns and not with handkerchieves. The Kurds have arms, you are incomparably richer than they, buy yourselves arms and defend yourselves.'

In another article Vramian keenly deplores the fact that we often have failed to make use of the one strong external switch which could turn the diplomatic power in our favor. That switch is the public opinion which must be cultivated incessantly. And foreign public opinion, writes Vramian, is cultivated only when certain conditions are met. These are:

⁴ Hairenik, 1903, July 4.

"The Armenian reality must be explained in detail, without tears and without exaggeration."

The crowned heads and the governments must be told what harms their short-sighted and procrastinating policy in the Eastern Question will bring to Europe. Procedures of how the Armenian Question may be solved without plunging Europe into the horrors of a bloody war must be pointed out. The advantages to Europe of the growth and development of the Armenian race in Asia Minor must be explained to peoples and governments. They must be told of the positive qualities of the Armenians — intellectual, moral and physical, to make them forget, or at least minimize the effects, of the dastardly myth of the "sheep" and the "beggar" which we so lavishly displayed before the world. And what is most important of all, the necessity of clearly impressing Europe that the Armenian people are determined to press their fight for freedom with a fearless and relentless resolution. That the political death of the Armenian people can bring about such a vortex in which the European powers may jeopardize or lose much.⁵

While offering these practical suggestions, Vramian never had any illusions about the benefits of diplomacy to the Armenian cause. To him, diplomacy was a useful weapon provided we knew how to employ it wisely and with timeliness. The same was true of public opinion which, although not a permanent power, in our hands at the opportune moment it could be useful to us. The conclusion is, alongside with our revolutionary activity, it is necessary to turn attention on public and diplomatic relations on the international front.

Vramian was glad to note that the controversy on this question was gradually

⁵ Hairenik, 1903, July 11.

subsiding, and best of all, beginning with 1904 the Armenian propaganda effort gained great momentum in Europe and the United States.

"The Armenian case was presented to the foreigners in its true colors, as the upward surge of a people which is trying to free itself of its political and economic shackles. The right to existence of revolutionary organizations was recognized by the public opinion of the outsiders. The fighting qualities of the Armenian people were brought out into the open. Thanks to the intercession of the "Pro-Armenia" group, France increased the number of her consuls in the eastern provinces of Turkey. The Russian machinations against the Armenians were exposed to the public. Finally, Khrimian Hairik sent a diplomatic mission abroad to bring the Armenian question to the attention of the European powers.⁶

The success of the Khrimian Delegation in Europe and in Washington spurred Vramian on to pay greater heed to the value of propaganda, especially in the United States. He believed that if the public opinion of America was properly readied, this great Republic would be able to play a great role in the solution of the Armenian Question. To accomplish this, however, the full cooperation of all the classes was needed — the Lousavorchakan (be-

lievers in the Armenian Apostolic Church), the Catholic, the Protestant, the merchant, the student, the revolutionary, etc. To start with, each man had to do what he could until later they could coordinate all the efforts and create a great propaganda association which would work day and night with a definite policy, without being swayed by every blowing wind.

And, lest these devotees of the propaganda operate without system or plan, Vramian gradually submitted to their attention several pointers. The first of these was the importance of approaching the American church and "the woman, to explain to them that a terrible regime was out to exterminate the Armenian people."

"The American church and the American woman," wrote Vramian, "are two powerful factors in this country which, however, have not been used in the interest of the Armenian cause to this day. Both of these must be informed with facts and figures that the Armenian people in the Ottoman Empire is slowly being annihilated. After a detailed explanation of the Turkish Government's methods of annihilation — exorbitant taxes, imprisonments, artificial famine, confiscation of farm lands, the ban on the return of exiles, and so forth, we must furnish them with chronological and statistical data which prove the ratio of the diminution of the Armenian population in the Armenian provinces of Turkey during the past 25 years. If this point alone is rightly presented, an unexpected emotional transformation may come about in humanitarian and church circles. Many think that when there is no massacre everything is all right. We must break the back of this deathly optimism through the medium of propaganda."

The second important point which should be stressed before the church and women's organizations, Vramian contends, is the

⁶ Khrimian Catholicos who was affectionately called "Hairik" (Little Father) by his people, in the summer of 1904, sent a political delegation which made a tour of all the great capitals of Europe. The aim of the mission was to center European and American attention on the condition of the Armenian people in Turkey, and to bring about the solution of several of their problems, such as, relaxation of the tax burden, the right to free travel, the return of emigrants, return of confiscated farmlands, amnesty to prisoners, the right to self-defense against the wilful crimes of the Turks and the Kurds, etc. This delegation visited a number of the European capitals, and wherever it went it was warmly received, leaving a great impression on the public opinion of the world in behalf of the Armenian cause.

danger which threatens the social status of the Armenian woman under the Turkish regime.

"The American woman who has worked so hard to improve her social position will not be insensible to the degradation of the Armenian woman. Societies, clubs and periodicals are in process of creation here to raise the position of the American woman. From the steppes of the south to the pines of the north one hears the incessant echo of the American woman's ideals and her irrespressible urge to rise to higher levels. And what of the Armenian woman? What of her idea? We do not think that we should present to the world the misery and the shameful condition of our sisters in Armenia in black color. We should also tell the world what the Armenian woman has done throughout the centuries in Armenia where, despite the pitch dark illiteracy in Asia, she kept the Armenian fires burning through her virtues of modesty, goodness, fortitude and courage.

"We must make the American women know and love our splendid mothers and sisters of typical Zeytoun and Sassoun, we must let the world know of the wonderful types of our Caucasian Armenian young generation girls who, in the fights of Shushi and Gandzak, not only showed manly courage in defending their honor, but they brought to light a superlative type of feminine kindness when they saved and took care of the Turkish prisoners and the wounded. And to think that, by an ironic fate, these women live with a race whose mothers teach their children to massacre and pillage Armenian villages."⁷

These contrasting pictures must be shown and stressed to rouse in the hearts of American women sentiments of sympathy and respect toward Armenian women "who, for twenty centuries, were the only vestals

of Christian civilization at the base of Ararat, and who are confronted today with the terrible specter of dissimilation and fall."

In other articles Vramian reverted to the question of American interests in Turkey, going so far as to emphasize the necessity of creating American interests in Turkey. Many laughed at him, wanting to know how one could create interests out of nothing. To such cynics Vramian replied by pointing out that this great country (the United States) having now shed off its former isolationism, is scanning the horizon with a steely look in search of new markets, and we must show her the Near East as the markets she is looking for.

"Who says that there is nothing new to say any more?" he once wrote. "The French scientists are writing volumes to make Turkey's resources and the people known to the world, so that their government will follow a wise policy in the East. The same is being done by the Germans who have organized companies to explore Asia Minor, as witness the Baghdad railroad and the grandiose dreams which are associated with it for German colonials in Mesopotamia. Why should we Armenians lie idle when foreigners are cutting up our country? To those who doubt the veracity of our view we ask, were we not the ones who made Georgia, Persia and Turkey known to the Russians? Were we not the ones who preached and exhorted the Russians, even showed them the way, until we persuaded them to set foot inside the Caucasian range? The Armenian was the pioneer of Russian domination in Asia Minor, and now it is up to us to show America that her interests lie in the East."

According to Vramian, this country had two kinds of interests in Turkey: the first, cultural; the second, economic.

Speaking of cultural interests, Vramian

⁷ Hairenik, 1906, March 31.

calls the attention of his readers to American missionary activities in Armenia ever since 1832, an enterprise which constitutes a mile stone in the history of our civilization, fully as great as the founding of the Mekhitarist Congregation in 1771. If the latter is associated with the development of the ancient Armenian language and letters, a factor which has contributed so greatly to the Armenian renaissance of the 18th and 19th centuries, the introduction of new methods of teaching in our schools is the work of the missionary movement. One of the chief aims of the missionary movement has been the extension of the American religio-ethical idealism to the East to enhance the political prestige of the Anglo-Saxon race. This is a big ethico-political interest which is being appreciated by the Americans more and more each day.

However, while on the one hand missionaries are at work in the Near East, the Vatican, on the other hand, has cast its fisherman's netting over that hapless land where Jesuit fathers expelled from France are in search of sheep for the fold of St. Peter. What is to be done about it? Vramian has an answer for this, too. We must persuade the missionaries to pose before us primarily as a reformatory force, and neutralize and destroy the indefatigable efforts of the Papal apostles and thus save the East from the claws of those "enemies of civilization." And if, with our united support, the missionaries win the victory, there can be no doubt that we will be the first to gain, because the Americans, together with their lofty religio-ethical principles, also bring us splendid schools which will greatly benefit our young generation.

Then Vramian submits to the attention of his readers a series of figures, to show that since 1832 what huge sums the missionaries have spent in Armenia and

Turkey. Therefore, the American Government must be made to turn to the Near East to protect the interests of its citizens. "If France sends a fleet to Loronto to collect Tubini's claim of a few thousand gold sterling from the Sultan, why shouldn't the United States have the right to protect an enterprize of its citizens which is worth at least five million dollars, something which, in its moral value, cannot even be compared to French and similar purely secular claims."⁸

And what are the economic or business interests of the United States in Turkey? This is the most important phase of the question which Vramian treated months later. Addressing himself to Armenian businessmen in particular, he suggested that they interest the United States in Turkey, point out definite interests, and even create interests for the Americans. If the Armenian merchant in the days of Herodotus and long before it established shipping down the Euphrates between the Persian Gulf and the valleys of Yerashk and Kour, wrote Vramian, and if the same merchant introduced Russia to the whole of Middle and Right Asia, or if from the days of India's domination he became the liaison between the Armenians and the English, today the same merchant, despite the fact that he has irretrievably lost his former position of an exceptional intermediary, can at least direct America's sights toward Turkey. For the supremacy of the world, the United States are at competition with English, German and French business. The Armenians should try to direct the American ambition toward Turkey.

And Vramian cites the example of the Germans who in 1882 organized the first company with a capital of \$250,000 to export German industrial products Turkey in exchange of raw materials. Another aim

⁸ "Hairenik", 1906, April 14.

of the company was the construction of public works — canals, bridges, railroads, tramways, reclamation of swamplands, telegraph and telephone etc. In 1890 this company, reorganized under a new name, established branches in Istanbul and Athens to sell all kinds of machinery. It founded museums to exhibit German products, and through roving agents it laid the groundwork of a profitable business in eastern marts. It also built the Baghdad railway and introduced agricultural implements.

This example of the Germans, continues Vramian, has excited the envy of the French who are now trying to further develop their railroads in Syria while the British are seriously thinking of connecting the Mediterranean with the Persian Gulf with a railway before the Baghdad line is completed in order to control Mesopotamia and southern Persia. Every one has begun to grasp that Turkey is an international market and he who is clever can stake a claim there.

What should the Armenian merchants do, therefore, to be useful to American business and industry? Vramian answers this question as follows:

"Today there are thousands of Armenian merchants. What must they do, therefore, to be useful to American business and industry? Vramian answers this question as follows:

"Today there are thousands of Armenian and Syrian immigrants in the United States who, during the past quarter century, have seen, appreciated and advertised the advantages of American goods. These must become intermediaries in interesting American industry in the Turkish market. At the initiative of prominent businessmen, an association should be organized with the aim of developing American business in Turkey. Aside from business proper, this company may explore the possibilities of American

capital investment. For example, the railroads and the mines of Asia Minor are fields of investment. Should a company of Armenian and American capitalists succeed in obtaining a railroad monopoly, a solid corner stone shall have been paid for American interests in Turkey. In this manner there will come into existence American interests, and whatever may happen thereafter, the Washington Government will be forced to interfere in Turkey's internal affairs, and such an intervention can only hasten the cause of reforms in Turkey."⁹

Vramian had profound faith in his abovementioned plan and was anxious that the Armenian business class, which until then had stood aloof from the national movement, dictated by its own interests, should take an interest in this direction.

All the more so since circumstances gradually favored such a move. "The United States representative in Istanbul has been elevated to the rank of Ambassador and before long the number of the consulates will be increased, all of which means that America is launching a policy of penetration. It would be highly advantageous to our cause if the Armenian businessman and the capitalist, too, supported this policy."

Eye witnesses relate that, during his stay in the United States, Vramian personally saw several rich Armenians and suggested to them, relying on the protection of the government, they transfer a certain amount of capital into Turkey. The Armenian merchants, however, who had lost much from their risky initiatives of former days, did not heed Vramian's advice and stood tight on a policy of "waiting for the time being."

On another occasion Vramian suggested that Armenians who are dedicated to the propaganda of the Armenian cause ex-

⁹ "Hairenik," 1906, July 7.

plain to to the outsiders the outstanding cultural and political role of the Armenian people in the civilization of mankind. Instead of pity-provoking Jeremiads of weeping and wailing, a cringing attitude which can only provoke disgust in the hearers, it is important, he insisted, that we present the world with such facts of Armenian character and history which will command respect, and to impress the outsiders that the disappearance of the Armenians will pose a danger to the safety and the perpetuation of western civilization.

The reading of the Hatti inscriptions, he wrote, even if far from final acceptance, comes to shed light on the origins of the Armenian race, the mighty political organization and the ancient civilization of the Armenians which they developed in the basin of the Halys and the Euphrates.

"It is the Hatti (Hittites) (the ancestors of the Armenians) who fight with the Pharaohs of Egypt for the supremacy over Syria, who sign pacts with them and who invade Egypt (1180-1150 B. C.), assist the establishment of the Jews in Palestine, and then, beginning with the 11th century started to wage savage wars against the Assyrian imperialists to stop their onward march.

"The monuments of these ancestors, strewn from Smyrna to Duyunjik (near Amasia), to Marash, Hama and as far as Babylon, are living proof of the extensive influence which the Hatti (ancient Armenians) exercised in Asia Minor. The explorations which have just begun have brought to light a unique and progressive Hatti civilization and a unique alphabet which, it is not unlikely that it might be proved some day, served as the sources of our Mesrobian letters.

"It was this people which, due to its geographical position, became an intermediary between ancient Greece (Hel-

las) and the civilization of Mesopotamia, and perhaps they were the first teachers of those Ionians who migrated from Asia Minor to Attica to clear the ground for the age of Pericles.

"This ancient race which boasts of samples of most ancient Indo-European literature, in its humanitarian instincts, has always stood higher than the contemporary Semitic peoples and has been noted in history for having signed the first treaty of peace.

"Later, we see the same race in a historic, otherwise sublime but thankless position. Despite its unfavorable geographic conditions, and removed from the Greco-Roman civilization, the Armenian became the indomitable pioneers of western civilization in the East. Suffice it to scan Elisha¹⁰ to be convinced of the Armenian's contempt not only of the theology of the contemporary sun worshippers, but especially his disgust of the immorality of the Sassanids in regard to marriage, the role of woman, etc. And in these interminable and relentless fights, the Armenian naturally could not give geniuses to the world, although, we must say, Naregatzzi alone is worth a whole literature.¹¹

"Armenian civilization had not fallen so low as was thought. The excavations of Ani by Professor Marr, still in its initial stage, came to tear off the veil and expose to view the vigorous life which the Armenian lived during the Middle Ages.

"The real Armenian civilization," writes Prof. Marr, "does not begin with the 4th and 5th centuries, as Armenian scholars are apt to believe, but much earlier. In the

¹⁰ The chronicler of the war of Vardan for the preservation of Christianity.

¹¹ Naregatzzi was a 10th century Armenian philosopher theologian, famous for his immortal work called "Narek" which has been accepted throughout the centuries as the standard Armenian family prayer book.

prechristian era we see more glorious manifestations of civilizational activity in Armenia and a greater degree of secular humanistic spirit among the people. Christianity, according to Marr, administered a blow to these illuminating aspects of Armenian life, and introduced clergy class spirit and narrow fanaticism.

"During the period of those dire circumstances when the Armenian people was forced to fight for its existence on all fronts, it would naturally be unfair to expect of it a broad scope of cultural activity. Byzantium, the heir of Hellas and Rome, did not contribute to world civilization more than the Armenian.

"All the same, even in this intellectual sterility, during the 7th century Armenia was the cradle of a religious sect — The Paulicians (and from them the Arevordik — Sons of the Sun — and the Tondraketzis, who may truly be called the progenitors of the Protestant Movement. It was the Paulician Armenians who, forced by the Byzantine emperors, established military colonies on the Danube to defend the northwestern frontiers of the empire and, thanks to this circumstance, gradually spread their radical ideas in the whole of Europe.

"The obscure town of Divrik once upon a time, in the 7th century, formed a protestant Armenian republic, concerning which the Byzantine chroniclers cannot but speak in terms of high praise, despite their rabid orthodoxy."

After stating also that the Armenians have performed a great service for the civilization of the peoples of Asia Minor and especially the Caucasian peoples (The Georgians, the Aghuans and the Uteans), Vramian stresses the Armenian's role as a breakwater against the black waves of Asiatic barbarism.

"With the fall of Byzantium," again writes Vramian, "the Mongol-Islam element

stood victorious over the Bosphorus and reached as far as Vienna, the heart of Europe. But Europe had forgotten that from the 11th to the 14th centuries it was the Armenian who resisted the Mongol-Islam advance, suffered heavily, fell down but never betrayed his historic calling, supplied generals, emperors and soldiers to the tottering Byzantine Empire, and at the same time, through the Armenian state, staved off the fall of Byzantium for four centuries while Europe was recuperating politically.

"Byzantium lacked the political wisdom to appreciate the role of the Armenian race and, stupidly, became an enemy of their religious and political independence. Kars, Ani, Van and Mouch fell, and thanks to the persecutions of the Paulicians, the vigorous people of Asia Minor were dispersed, the final expression of Armenia's political virility, the state of Cilicia fell, with the result that the entire eastern and southern frontiers of the Byzantine Empire were exposed to the inroads of the Seljuks and the Arabs. The inevitable consequence of this politically suicidal policy was not late in coming. Sixty years after the death of Levon VI, the last king of Cilicia (1393), Sultan Mohammed the Conqueror captured Constantinople."¹²

Vramian makes this historical retrospect in order to show that the fall of the Armenian people was also the direct cause of the fall of their Christian enemies, enabling the cancer called the Ottoman Empire to park on the chest of Europe. With the passing of time the Armenian grew weaker while the Islamic elements grew stronger. By degrees, the political horizon grew darker, there were new storms-Pan-Islamism which has been succeeded by an even greater menace today. Can these storms and dangers be fended off? Yes, re-

¹² "Hairenik," 1906, August 11.

plies Vramian, if only Europe will support the Armenian and make him strong in his native land which, with the preservation of its political independence, is called upon to safeguard the interests of Europe in the East.

With his articles at various intervals, Vramian supplied a clear outline to those who were busy with Armenian propaganda. He submitted to his readers a number of basic issues which had to be explained to the non-Armenian public: 1. the ethico-civilizational viewpoint in regard to the regime which threatened the existence of the Armenian people; 2. the material sacrifices which the United States had made in the promotion of civilization in Asia Minor for half a century; 3. the United States' business interests in the Near East and the Armenian's role as intermediary;

4. the strengthening of the Armenian cause as a contribution to western civilization;
5. the United States' diplomatic opportunities and interests in the Armenian Question. And lastly, that the Armenian not only is a civilizing force, but it represents a militant power as well in the Near East — as the pioneer and champion of western civilization.

It is safe to say, in subsequent years the Armenian propaganda in the Dispersion was carried out approximately along the lines which Vramian had mapped out. One of the permanent values of Vramian's journalism is that, he early showed his readers how the defense of Armenian political interests should be conducted before the non-Armenians.

(*Taken from Hairenik Monthly,*
November 1933)

SAN LAZZARO

DAISY SNODDY, F.R.P.S., F.R.S.A.L.

During my trip to the Continent in the Autumn of 1954 I spent a few days in Lugano with my Swiss friend, before we both left for Italy. We travelled by the Rome Express over night arriving at the Railway Station of Venice early the following day, and then by gondola to the landing stage for Academia.

After breakfast at our Hotel we called upon Signora Sophy Sorgoudje, a very old friend of my Swiss companion.

She is one of the most interesting personalities that I have been privileged to meet in my numerous travels over the past thirty years. An Armenian by birth, she was brought to England, when nine months old, and lived there until she married an Italian in her early twenties, and went to live in Venice. She has travelled in many countries, and can converse in eleven languages, also she has written the Guide Book for the Armenian Monastery to the Island of San Lazzaro near Venice. In the present revised third edition are included Lord Byron's Letters.

Lord Byron the great English Poet spent some happy months in the Monastery (December 1816 to June 1817) in peaceful study of the Armenian language. One of the rooms is named after him.

At one time the Venetians used to ship all lepers to this Island. They were often concealed in trading ships from Turkey and other countries.

In the 12th Century the Benedictine Monks built a Monastery on this Island for the reception of Lepers and for many years it was used as a Leper Colony, and abandoned when the terrible disease disappeared in Asia and Africa and the infection ceased to be carried to European ports. Later it was burnt down, and the Island was deserted.

In the year 1700 a group of Armenians who were holy and learned men worked together under the rule of Mechitar which in Armenian means comforter. Mechitar was born in Sebaste in Asia Minor in 1676, and while still a youth had a zeal for the conversion of his countrymen to the Catholic Faith.

He gathered together a few disciples and travelled from town to town in Asia Minor. Mechitar had already planned to form a religious order with a definite aim, but despite the modest and laborious lives he and his followers led, there was considerable opposition from outside sources, so that even in Constantinople where he and his company had already set up their first printing press and used Armenian translations of devotional and educational books, he found it necessary to secure a securer resting place.

The little group travelled to Morea, as at that time Morea was under the domination of the Venetian Republic.

On their arrival at Mondone, they were welcomed by the Venetian authorities and

the governor Angelo Emo, to whose goodwill they owed the present of a certain piece of land with a house and other buildings — all more or less delapidated, on condition that the restoration of the buildings would be completed within 3 years. This was done to the satisfaction of the Governor of Venice. Later Pope Clement XI recognized Mechitar as the first Abbot of this Monastery.

The Monks worked on peacefully for twelve years for the good of their fellow countrymen, until the Turks again invaded Morea, and the Armenian Monastery was pillaged and burnt, leaving the poor monks once more homeless and destitute. — Some were carried away as prisoners to Constantinople but Mechitar and the rest of his companions found refuge in one of the Venetian ships, and in April 1715, they landed in the Riva degli Schiavoni at Venice.

The Doge Giovanni Cornaro offered the deserted Island of S. Lazzare to the Abbot Mechitar for the reconstruction of a habitable refuge out of the ruins of the ancient kazar-house.

The material edifice raised by the untiring efforts of his monks was completed in the Founder's lifetime. At the same time the young men who came year by year to join his little flock were given every opportunity to follow intellectual pursuits and devote their sparetime to study. One of the Abbot's first care was the Printing Press, and during his life-time, they began to send out to all parts of the World where the scattered Colonies of Armenians had settled, those devotional Books and Literary Works and translations of classical literature, also modern scientific works, which were made and issued under his personal supervision.

The Congregation of Mechitarists of San Lazzaro numbers generally about 50 mem-

bers, doctors, priests and lay-brothers of whom however never more than 20 reside at the same time on the Island. It is governed by the Abbot General, assisted by a Council of four members, and is absolutely independent of any other order.

Before the War the Order had under its direction several flourishing educational institutions. Unfortunately of those in Turkey only the ruins remain.

The Seminary of the Island of S. Lazzaro itself gives a complete education to about 30 students, who are usually received at 10 years of age, and up to the age of 17 follow a literary and general course of studies. Those who have the vocation, continue their studies in Rome until their ordination, when they are appointed to some special duty. After several years the Abbot confers the Degree of Doctor on them before sending them on missions abroad.

The Mechitarist Fathers have under their direction two important institutions, both endowed by two wealthy Armenians of Madras, and named after their benefactors. One is the E. R. College at Venice, and the S. M. College at Padua.

In both these institutions Armenian youths are trained for six years, and so well do the Fathers, aided by competent staffs of French and Italian masters do their work that the men who have gone out have in most cases made honorable careers for themselves. Some reaching the highest positions of trust and public honor as Professors at the University of Constantinople and Ministers of State, also Ambassadors to London, Rome and Vienna.

The sail to the Island of San Lazzaro from Venice is most interesting. The steamer leaves the little Pier on the Riva degli Schiavoni just beyond the monument to Victor Emmanuel twice a day.

The first place of call is the Island of S. SERVOLO. Leaving there San Lazzaro

comes into view. Arriving there and stepping on to the little landing stage, the visitor stands in front of the Monastery, which is in color in deep red, in striking contrast to the deep blue of the sea and sky, then proceeds to the gateway where he is received by the porter and ushered into the Parlor and on a fine Summer afternoon he may find himself among people from all parts of the world, some out of mere curiosity, others by love to study, and others again who have come to visit friends among the Doctors.

While waiting for one of the Fathers who will kindly be his Guide, he will form a party to follow through the quiet Cloisters into the Church, which has been renovated without losing the character of the building.

The Vestments of the Celebrant priest and assistant clergy form a rich collection, the brocades especially being remarkable both for richness and beauty of coloring.

After leaving the church the visitor is led to the Library, which has a wonderful collection of Books.

The ceiling decoration of this room is by B. Tiepolo and represents Peace and Justice. Now going up six steps, we enter the fine hall of the Library 51 feet long

by 21 feet broad; with the round inner room contains the most precious treasures of the Island. There are 35,000 volumes in different languages, religious, literary and scientific works. Many are rare editions. Next there is a collection of over 2000 Armenian manuscripts, the richest in Europe. Some are written on Vellum. The oldest is a copy of the Gospels dating from the year 902, which belonged originally to the Armenian Queen Melke.

By going down the corridors we reached the Natural History and Science Museum which contain some rare laboratory instruments and collections of birds and reptiles, which will be appreciated by connoisseurs.

There are a great number of valuable paintings in the long corridor! Two of the most impressive being "The last Supper" by P. A. HOVELLI and "CHAOS" or the creation of the World, by AYVASOWSKI.

Returning to the outside of the Monastery to admire the well kept gardens with its orchards, its vines and its avenues of Cypress and Olive trees, then turning to the lovely peaceful views from every angle tend to make one feel that the outside World is very far away from this abode of peace.

HOW TO BE THE LIFE OF THE PARTY

P. K. THOMAJAN

Today, there's a fancy premium on a person who radiates pep and personality. He's a man who's wanted wherever parties are held because he helps keep them sparkling.

He's an ideal combination of Tom, Dick, and Harry and he's full of the ole harrsy. There's never a dull moment in his company. By being utterly natural and himself, he puts everyone at ease, limbers up responsiveness and gets everyone to pitch in and cooperate in the goings-on.

You do not have to have a college diploma or the looks of a Don Juan to be the *life of a party* . . . but you have to have a genuine fondness for people and an interest in making them happy. Such a person is everyone's sweetheart, a mellow fellow, who disarms resistance to his requests, the moment he turns on the charm. He gives you the hand and a whole-hearted smile that are an immediate pick-me-up.

Yes, *you* can be the *life of the party* and it doesn't require a correspondence course. All you need is a bundle of verves and a complete disregard for impulse-breaking inhibitions. Let yourself go . . . be a happy-go-lucky amateur . . . doddle and dabble to your heart's content.

Even if you don't know a thing about telling fortunes, make believe that you

do and sneak in all kinds of ingratiating compliments. Convenient devices are tea leaves, coffee grounds, or cards. Just use a little common sense and observation and you will hit the truth more than once.

If there's a piano around, slide over to it and play chop-sticks, if you can't play anything else. Soon this will bait some one more talented to perform a piece that is really a contribution to the evening.

In case you take a girl along, pick one that's a pal and won't cramp your style with frowns and nudges once you swing into action. When the dance music starts up, grab a partner and start spinning around. Hold your partner as though she was a precious bouquet, compliment her on her perfume, whisper sweet nothings into her ear. Be affectionate in your greetings . . . salute those present as . . . *honey or chum*. Get your arm around the girls surprise them with a quick and buoyant caress.

Be a smart kidder but don't poke fun at tender spots. Pick on various vanities and mimic them with finesse. People love to see a distorted mirror help up to the mannerisms of those they know. When you tell a joke, make sure it fits the group. Build it up to a teetering climax and then topple it with a slightly terrific punch line. A joke that goes flat leaves a

lingering bad stench.

Don't strain too hard to look smart, oftentimes an awkward but jovial naivete pleases the most.

Take a hand at the bar, be a good mixer there and serve some special drink of your own.

Help others first and yourself last to the refreshments. Think twice before going back for second helpings.

Don't spot the softest spot and slouch into it . . . it makes you look like a big fat bag of comfort.

Of course, you know what the opposite is to *the life of the party* . . . he's the dead-head of the party . . . a dope who mopes around. He thinks he's too good for the girls and feels that he does them a favor when he dribbles them a few remarks from his swell head. He doesn't laugh at other's jokes because he can't tell any himself. He likes to pose as something very desirable but untouchable. Usually, you'll find him nursing a drink in a corner and brooding about the whole affair, or else talking impersonally to some old dowager.

Your *life of the party* has a nice knack of making everybody feel like somebody and he knows how to accent what makes them different. He knows a little about everything and a lot about basic fundamentals. He keeps himself well-groomed and brushed up on current events. Getting back to *you* as the *life of the party* . . . remember to keep conversation on light topics. Avoid heavyweight subjects that necessitate long and tedious explanations. Head off arguments by making a fast switch to some other subject. Get as many people as possible into a discussion instead of letting a party get knotted up into tight little groups. Sprinkle your remarks with refreshing nonsense that keeps interest piqued.

Never come too early or stay too late.

Taper off the party by organizing a singing group and reveling in some rollicking and sentimental ballads.

Being the *life of the party* . . . you'll suddenly find yourself living to the hilt with a lilt. Then, the world will be your *joyster!*

ARMENIA AFTER THE FALL OF URARTU-BIAINA TO THE BIRTH OF CHRIST

JAMES H. TASHJIAN

Gupon the fall of Urartu-Biaina, it would seem that the people of the Armenian highlands fell under the direct rule, or better political influence of the Assyrian monarchs. We are assured by the Armenian historians, notably the great Moses of Khoran, however, that the Haikian dynasty, whose roots first took hold with the arrival of Haik in the Armenian highlands, continued to rule Armenia as its kings until the last monarch of that illustrious stock, Vaheh "fell in battle against Alexander the Great," or cir. 330. But the entire Haikian line of kings is a subject of great doubt among some of the foremost Armenologists of the past and present and it is almost mandatory that we review the race of kings whom we are told controlled Armenia not only before the advent of Urartu, but even during the reign of those kings, and still even after the fall of that kingdom.

Categorical denials of the existence of these Haikian kings may not only be ill-founded, but even hostile to indications of their actual existence offered by history. Strabo, Ptolemy, and Justin, for instance, speak of "Armenus," the companion of Jason, to whom they ascribe the founding of the Armenian people; and their reference may be to Aram, after whom, all agree, the Armenians were named. We are assured by

Moses and the other early Armenian writers that Haikian king Zarmair, with a "feeble detachment" of Ethiopians, was sent by Tautanis, king of Assyria, to aid the Trojans in their war against the Greeks, a statement which has been bitterly assailed by almost all historians on the grounds that Homer's works (which are not history!) do not mention this king. But though this is true, Zarmair may be identified either with the Homeric Memnon, the son of Tithonus, whose antecedents are questionable, but who is said to have been a Persian. Memnon went to Priam's aid *with a band of Ethiopians*, or with "the godlike Ascanios", king of Phrygia, who was also present at Troy. Ascania (or Ashkenaz), we know, was a biblical name for Armenia, "Memnon" is reminiscent of "Armenia", the Armenians were once "colonists of the Phrygians," and the circumstances relative to the presence of Memnon at Troy are wholly in accord with the Armenian traditions concerning Zarmair.

But the contention that the people of Urartu were not ARMENIAN in the full sense of the word, and that, conversely, the monarchs of Uraratu were not Armenian, is also one borne by scholars who point out that, during the reign of the Urartu kings, Haikian dynasts were said,

by Armenia traditions, to be ruling over the Armenians. Yet, observe the following:

1. In B.C. 870, says Moses, BAROYR the Haikian, THE FIRST CROWNED KING OF ARMENIA, ascended the throne of that land. The FIRST king of the Urartuan line was named SAR-DUR, which the historians have made into Sarduris. Observe and compare "Barouyr" and "Sardur."
2. SARDUR is called the son of ELIPRI in the inscriptions; BAROYR is called the son of SGAIORTI in the traditional histories. ELIPRI was an Assyrian, and perhaps an Urartuan god, while the word "SGAIORTI" means "Son of the Giant" in Armenian. We know that GODS of the early pagan times were considered "giant-like" by their devotees. Hence ELIPRI and Sgaiorti have comparatively like values, and the association of *Sardur* with *Barouyr* is thus the more closely established.
3. The name of the Urartuan king Menuas may be compared with that of Parnouas, the third of the line of Haikians of this period. Menuas, in all truth, was the *third* of the Urartuan monarchs.
4. "Rusas," the name borne by the *sixth* of the Urartuan monarchs, is comparable to "Pavos," the name of the *sixth* Haikian king.
5. Erimenes, the ninth king of Urartu, may be Ervant, the eighth of the Haikian list whom Moses reports to have lived but briefly. Erimenes himself is believed to have enjoyed but a brief reign.

Thus it is possible to argue that not only were the Haikian kings of Armenia a reality, but that they were actually identical with the kings of Urartu whose ethni-

cal antecedents are still a matter of question.

Let us look at the situation in Armenia in 620. The last Urartuan king had died, his contemporary Ashur-bani-pal had joined him in the hall of the gods, Asshurnemil-ilin, the last king of Assyria, had burned to a mere memory in the holocaust at Ninevah (625), and Cyaxeres the Mede and the turncoat Nabopollasar had divided the spoils of conquest between them after their combined efforts had crushed to dust an assassin empire the likes of which did not trouble the world again until the advent of the Ottoman Turk.

Cyaxeres had taken the northern portions of the empire, Nabopollasar had assumed the throne of Babylon, Chaldea, and Susiana. Armenia itself, though now nominally the possession of the conquering Cyaxeres, was being subjected to invasion. A barbarian people vaguely known to the historians as the Scythians—a race which had come southward from the Russian steppes—had poured over the lofty Caucasas and had proceeded to put to the torch the possessions and persons of the natives of all the lands they traversed. We know from an authoritative historian that the brunt of the force of this terrible incursion had been borne by the Armenians themselves, and we further know Armenia seemed so attractive to the barbarians that they actually settled in one portion of Armenia which came to be called "Sacastan" by the Greeks (Land of the Sacae, or Scyths), and which later became known as "Siounik."

After his successful adventure in Assyria, then, Cyaxeres turned northward for two very specific reasons. One, the Scythians constituted a very great threat to his growing empire and, two, Armenia

and Cappadocia had not bowed their heads to the conqueror with the proper humility. But it would seem that the eviction of the Scythians proved a harder task than the subjugation of Armenia and Cappadocia, for there are many indications that the Armenians and their neighbors actually welcomed the arrival of the Mede whom they may have hailed as the saviour, the great man who would deliver their villages from the predatory raids of the fierce and unprincipled invaders of the north. Cyaxeres drove out the Scythians, and Armenia reverted to the role of vassal, this time of the Median Empire.

But the expulsion of the men of the north did not quiet the fomentations of Asia Minor. The races and tribes of this vast land shifted, and continued to shift from pasture to pasture, new peoples from Thrace and Eastern Europe crossed the Bosphorus, and then a historically strange thing is said to have occurred. A tide of immigration crept forward from *west to east*, a movement which was in direction opposite to the other known great waves of racial migrations in history. This we learn from Herodotus and also the Egyptian monuments which speak of the "Abominable Sea Folk." We can presume that if the migration of the *true* Armenian tribe ever did take place, it occurred at this time; the native people of the Armenian plateaus soon found another people settling amongst them, encroaching on their domains and finally outnumbering and mastering them. At any rate, there are indications that the ethical characteristics of the people inhabiting Armenia changed during this period, and it is believed that the Armenia language, predominantly Aryan, supplanted the non-Aryan language of the Urartuans.

Armenia now entered upon a period of comparatively sustained peace which was not broken until the reign of Ardashes in 190. B.C. Not only was the control of the Mede a loose one, but the Armenians were allowed to retain their own native monarch who, although a nominal vassal of the Median king, was permitted to govern his country almost as he wished. Great prosperity reigned in Armenia, the land flowed with milk and honey, and the fattened people adored their Haikian king Tigranes I.

The existence of this king, as the existence of any of the other Haikian kings, is seriously doubted by many modern historians; but here it is a vain doubt. The traditions relative to this great king are too great among the Armenians to be disregarded in cavalier fashion; and his existence is attested to by the Greek soldier-historian Xenophon who, in his Cyropaedia, gives us some good deal of information as to the character of this king, and the situation in Armenia at this time, and even before his time. Xenophon informs us, in effect, that Armenia was the nominal vassal state of Media, but that Tigranes had refused to pay tribute to the Medes, for which reason a Median army (or perhaps an army composed of Persians) moved against him, drove him a fugitive to the summit of a mountain; but Tigranes' life and sovereignty were spared when his son Diran (Xenophon calls him Tigranes too, an obvious error) learnedly argued with Cyrus, the leader of the non-Persian troops, against killing his father. As price for his life Tigranes paid Cyrus a large sum of money, and dispatched one half of his soldiery (Xenophon assures us that Tigranes had forty thousand infantry and eight thousand cavalry) with Cyrus to aid the latter in an expedition, perhaps the very

one that ruined Babylon. We hear too that Tigranes was engaged in a war with his neighbors, the Khalds, at that time, a Xenophonic statement which bears out the Armenian traditions.

Tigranes, then was a contemporary of both Cyaxeres (d. 593), and of Astyages, the last king of Media, with whom he is said to have engaged in a long and bitter war. Xenophon reports this war, but he swears that the result of the conflict (or at least a phase of the war) was detrimental to Armenia, — a statement which conflicts sharply with the testimony of Moses of Khoren who very circumstantially draws the causes of this war, and talks of Astyages' death in battle against the victorious Armenians. We know, however, that Astyages died at the hands of Cyrus of Persia when the latter moved against that weak prince, destroyed the Median state (559 B.C.) and laid the foundations of one of the greatest empires in the history of the world.

Cyrus was a monarch of different cloth than Astyages. He was a vigorous, intelligent, warlike, but often forgiving man. His stock, the Achemenidae, was one of the noblest strains of the Persian branch of the Aryan race. Having been raised in the Median court, he had occasion to study the weaknesses of the Median administrative system; and when he struck, his inferior forces were able to overpower the Medes not only through the military genius of their leader, but because of his full understanding of the character of both Median individual and empire. Armenia seems to have accepted voluntarily the rule of the new king; but there are no indications that the Armenian kings were not allowed to remain in nominal control of their country, though as vassals.

The Persian conqueror then destroyed

the fabled empire of Croesus the Lydian (549), and, in turn, as result of a campaign in which he was supported by Armenian troops, put an end to the empire of Babylonia with whom Media had been on such cordial terms. He then turned to the east where he smashed Bactria and annexed that rich country to his empire. Armenia soon found itself one of the many subsidiary states of a huge empire which comprehended the belt of land extending from the westernmost shores of Asia Minor, through Mesopotamia, the Levantine countries, and to the banks the river Indus in India. Cyrus' final expedition may have been one directly concerned with the protection of Armenia. We are told that a southward movement of the savage Massagetae who nominally lived north of the Caucasus impelled Cyrus to action; that the King of Kinks led his troops over the Araxes river in Armenia, and ran up to the face of the mountains. But in the course of the successful action against the barbarians, Cyrus himself was killed. This occurred in 529.

Though Cyrus made some honest efforts to institute some form of government in the conquered lands that constituted his empire he never was able to establish a form of government uniform to all the provinces, and this proved to be the greatest weakness of Persia during his rule. The system of vassal kings, such as the kings who seem to have continued to exist in Armenia, was at the best a precarious one; and Cyrus had not learned the lesson that military occupation and political reorganization of a conquered country went hand in hand. Though the nations which had subjected themselves to him might not have raised the banner of revolt, his POSSESSION of these states was only in name; and we

may very well delight at the thought that CONQUERED people were able to invoke the protection of the EMPIRE by merely PAYING a haphazard annual tribute, which they often neglected to pay on specious excuses, or by, on occasion, dispatching suave and fawning legates to grovel before the feet of the GREAT KING in order to assure him of his magnificence and the everlasting devotion and fidelity of the conquered nation.

Cambyses (B.C. 529-522) followed Cyrus to the Persian throne. When not embroiled in the tumults of the Pseudo-Smerdis revolt — one of the most famous bits of impersonation in all history — Cambyses showed himself to be the worthy son of his father; for his ambition for territorial acquisitions was insatiable, while his eye for administration, standardization, and organization was as dim as that of his late sire. His attack on Egypt was successful; that proud nation bowed its head in subjection to Persia only after many of its proudest cities felt the heat of the Persian torch. His suicidal death was hailed by his enemies, and a base usurper, a Magian priest, ruled the empire that had been forged by the blood and sweat of Cyrus. But the Pseudo-Smerdis reign lasted, at most, only one year. A patriotic group of nobles conspired against the pretender, a rebellion flared, the base-born king was dispatched, and his followers were unmercifully slaughtered. Darius, the son of a certain Hystapes, and a man of sterling character and nobility, was proclaimed by his fellow conspirators as the new king, the defender of the flame of Ormuzd, and the new Cyrus.

The vassal nations of "mother" Persia followed the example set by their master state. Revolts flared up all over the length and breadth of the empire, and the hot

winds of defiance scalded the faces of the Persian soldiers as they drove to the corners of the empire. The first six years of Darius' reign were expended in a successful effort to return insurrectionist nations into the "loving fold" of shepherd Persia. It is strange how easily and eagerly people can follow a specific bad example. The impersonation of the Magian who had claimed to be Smerdis, the brother of Cambyses, had perhaps captured the imaginations of the peoples of the empire. Persons claiming to be of native royal stock shouted and were heard in many of the nations of the empire. In Elam, a man presumed to call himself "king of Elam;" Babylon flew to arms at the call of one Nidinyu-Bel who styled himself "Nebuchadrezzar, son of Nabonidus." Another impersonator of Elamic royalty arose in Elam. Parumartish, the Mede, raised himself from obscurity in Media and called himself "of the seed of Umaku-Ishtar."

These revolts were vigorously suppressed. But the cloak of rebellion had not been discarded in the empire. Perhaps the most serious revolt followed, this in Armenia. In order fully to appreciate the situation, let us follow the description of the events as found in the Large Inscription of Darius, at Behistun, in Persia:

"Thus speaks Darius the king: There was an Armenian, Dadarshish by name, a servant of mine; I sent him to Armenia; I spoke to him as follows: 'Go, smite the rebellious army which does not obey me;' thereupon Dadarshish went forth. When he arrived in Armenia the rebels assembled themselves, and marched against Dadarshish (Ardashes?) to give battle. Thereupon Dadarshish joined battle with them in a city called Zuzu in Armenia. Ahura-mazda bore me aid; by the will of Ahura-mazda my army utterly smote that rebellious army. On the eighth day of the month of Thuravahara the battle was fought.

"Thus speaks Darius the king: A second time the rebels assembled themselves and marched against Dadarshish to give battle. Thereupon they joined battle at a stronghold by the name of Tigr in Armenia. Ahura-mazda

bore me aid; by the will of Ahura-mazda my army utterly smote that rebellious army. On the eighteenth day of the month of Thuravahara the battle was fought. They killed five hundred and forty-six of them, and took 520 alive. Later, for a third time, the rebels assembled themselves and marched against Dadarshish to give battle; at a stronghold named Uhyama in Armenia, they joined battle. Ahura-mazda bore me aid; under the protection of Ahura-mazda my army smote the rebels. On the ninth day of the month Tishrit they fought the battle. After this Dadarshish waited inactive (?) for me until I came to Media."

The result of this expedition against the Armenia rebels was, then, indecisive. Darius changed his commander, and sent another expedition into Armenia. Here is the description of the events as carved on the rocks by the Persian scribe:

"Thus speaks Darius the king: My servant, Umisi (Vaumisa) by name, a Persian I sent to Armenia. I spoke to him as follows: 'Go smite the army which is rebellious, and does not call itself mine.' Thereupon Vaumisa went, and when he came to Armenia the rebels assembled themselves and marched against Umisi to give battle; afterwards they engaged in battle in a place by the name of Ixtush in Assyria. Ahura-mazda bore me aid; by His aid my army utterly smote that rebellious army. On the fifteenth day of the month of Anamake the battle was fought. They killed two thousand and twenty-four of them. For a second time the rebels assembled and marched against Umisi to give battle; at a place called Autiyara by name, in Armenia, they fought the battle. Ahura-mazda bore me aid; by the will of Ahura-mazda my army smote the rebels. On the thirteenth day of the month Aru they engaged in battle. They killed two thousand and forty-five of them, and took twenty-five hundred and forty-nine alive. After this Vaumisa waited in Armenia for me until I came to Media."

The whole army of Vaumisa remained, then, in Armenia to discourage any further notion on the parts of the Armenians to rebel once again. But Darius himself, though he may have subsequently visited his victorious army in Armenia, is soon found active in the suppression of revolts in other parts of the empire. Media was again placated by the edge of the sword, Sagartia was subdued, and the man who pretended to be king of that land suffered the loss of his nose, ears, and eyes, was chained like a dog in the court of Darius and was ceremoniously crucified,

after his emaciated and mutilated body had ceased to be either a corrective spectacle, or the target of the coarse humor of the courtiers. Parthia and Hyrcania followed the futile pattern of revolt, Margiana felt the tread of the Persian rabble, even Persia itself raised a tumult which only subsided when another impersonator, and all his followers, were crucified, and when a branch of that rebellion was as signally crushed.

While Darius was concerned with the uprising in Persia, the abylonians revolted for a second time, — and the record of this event, as preserved at Behistun, accords us one of the most curious notices concerning an Armenian in history!

"Thus speaks Darius the king: while I was still in Persia and Media, the Babylonians for a second time revolted against me. A man by the name of Arahu, an Armenian, the son of Hadita, rose up in Babylon (saying): 'I am Nebuchadrezzar, the son of Nabonidus.' Thereupon the people of Babylon rebelled against me and went over to Araku. He seized Babylon, he became the king in Babylon.

"Thus speaks Darius the king: Thereupon I sent an army to Babylon. A Median, Vindafra by name, a servant of mine, I made their chief. I sent him forth with orders as follows: 'Go, smite the army of the rebels.' Thereupon Vindafra went forth with the army to Babylon. Ahura-mazda bore me aid; by the will of Ahura-mazda Vindafra took Babylon and smote the army of Babylon, the rebels and bound them as captives. The army in whose midst*** bound (?). Thereupon I gave orders as follows: Arahu and the men who were his most prominent supporters shall be crucified in Babylon."

It is quite possible that this is an indication that an Armenian community of some great numbers was found in Babylon. The importance of the Behistun inscription to Armenian history is great, not only because it contains the word "Armenia," that it includes Armenia as the eleventh province of the empire and perhaps the weathiest district of the entire empire, that it informs us of great unrest in Armenia and the existence of a patriotic spirit among the Armenians, but also because the travels of Armenians in other

parts of the East is attested to, a fact hinted at in the Biblical book of Isaiah in which the prophet reports that he saw Armenian merchants selling horses in Syria. Herodotus, himself a contemporary of Darius, reported Armenian commercial activities in one of the most curious passages of his great history. (See Herodotus I. 194).

Armenian activities, then, especially as merchants, were extensive at this period, and it is more than possible that this Arahu was a wealthy and ambitious Armenian merchant resident for commercial purposes in Bablyon, but whose money purchased much support in his abortive attempt to raise himself to the vacant throne of Bablyon.

Darius, however, masterfully tamed the rebellious peoples of his empire, and a period of tranquillity was ahead.

Perhaps because the revolts had shown him that the internal structure of his empire was weak, Darius reformed the entire government with the following implications to Armenia itself:

1. The system of provincial rulers, satraps, was set up. The main principle of this satrapial system was to substitute one form of government in all the provinces for the several forms of government which hitherto had existed. Armenia, we learn from Xenophon's *Anabasis*, had TWO satraps, one in eastern Armenia, and the other in western Armenia.
2. A fixed and definite formula of taxation was set up for all the provinces in lieu of variable and uncertain calls. Armenia, we compute, was taxed about 1,000,000 dollars (American money), in silver bullion, and was called upon to supply 20,000 colts yearly for the use of the crown. How the satrap raised the tax was

his concern. In Armenia, perhaps, the people were taxed on the basis of live stock they possessed, their land holdings, and their specie wealth; the actual collection of these taxes was probably the concern of the Armenian nobles who seem to have acted as local governors and mayors of cities, towns, etc.

The fisheries of Lake Sevan and the natural resources of the country — the mountain quarries where agate, building stones, and *sardonyx* were cut from the bowels of the earth, the salt-works of Lake Van and Upper Armenia, the fabulously rich gold, silver, lead, emery, and antimony mines, the deep pits which supplied the east with such coveted precious stones as amethysts, garnets, beryls, and emeralds, and the great forests of the country—were the possession of the Persian king who, however, realized a great revenue by leasing them out to private individuals who industriously developed the resources of Armenia for the use of the Empire. It is no wonder that Persia watched carefully over Armenia—for that land was the cornucopia of the Empire.

In addition, many nuisance taxes, such as a tax on the use of water, were levied on the people.

3. A system of checks was established among the officials to whom it was necessary for the crown to delegate its powers. Armenia had two satraps who, however, controlled only the administrative end of the government; what military measures the satrap would deem necessary would have to be approved by a military commander; and the activities of both satrap and military commander were the objects of the closest scrutiny on the part of a third of-

ficial, a secretary, who kept the king informed as to conditions in Armenia. Thus, if the satrap wished to revolt, he would have to win over both the military commander and the secretary!

4. Large garrisons of native Persian and Median troops entered Armenia and encamped in all the strategic points of the land. Thus, troops native to Darius stood watch on foreign soil, and thus revolt was rendered almost impossible. The services of the native Armenian troops, as elsewhere outside of Persia, were as general rule, declined unless in rare and exceptional cases.
5. Occasionally, it was thought wise to allow a native dynasty to continue nominal sovereignty in a Province. Moses claims the Haikians continued to rule until the coming of Alexander. It is possible that the Haikian kings of Armenian ruled as almost powerless vassals during Darius' reign.

Such was the government of Armenia through the reign of Darius. That prince indulged in his unsuccessful adventure in Greece in B.C. 505, a campaign in which Armenians undoubtedly participated, later annexed Punjab to the Empire, and died in 486 after a long, important, and colorful reign.

Xerxes I, the eldest son of Darius, succeeded his father on the Persian throne. We know from his tri-lingual inscription on the rock at Van that he visited Armenia, and it is possible that he spent some summer seasons by the great Armenian lake. But his reign was one of almost constant campaigning. Shortly after his accession, he suppressed an Egyptian revolt in 485, then turned to his very famous expedition against Greece

in which his forces suffered three signal defeats at Thermopylae, Salamis, and Plataea. His murder, in B.C. 465, marked the beginning of the decline of the Persian empire, a period in which Persia attempted to sustain an empire which it had won by the sword and the bow with power of gold and intrigue. It took Artaxerxes I five years to win back Egypt (480-455), intrigues raged in the Persian court, Xerxes II and Secydianus were slain by their followers, and the servile Darius Nothus, anxiously watching the results of the struggle in the Grecian Peloponnesus, poured copious streams of gold into the coffers of Sparta to aid that city-state emerge triumphant over Athens. No information is found anent the conditions in Armenia at this time, but Moses or Khoren, in merely enumerating the names of the Haikian kings of this period, gives us to believe that no effort was made by Armenia to throw off the Persian yoke, that the country continued in peace and prosperity as the vassal of Persia.

The administration of Darius Nothus was unsuccessful. It was marked by a growing relaxation of the checks by which the great officers of the state were intended to have been held in restraint. The satraps of the provinces came to be uncontrolled in their own spheres of jurisdiction and the dangerous custom arose of allowing sons to succeed their fathers as satraps. The Persian nation, once dependent solely on its own soldiery, once contemptuous of the arms of others, commenced to rely more and more on the services of mercenary soldiers — like Britain in the days of the American revolution, and Rome in the decline of its fortunes. When Darius died (405), his empire was beginning to seethe with sedition, and the strongest man in the

Empire and least trustworthy, was Cyrus, the satrap of Phrygia, Lydia and Capnodocia.

No sooner had Artaxerxes Memnon assumed the purple than Cyrus declared himself the nominal king's rival to the crown. Collecting a force of 13,000 Greek mercenary soldiers, and assembling his troop of Persian soldiers, Cyrus marched to meet Artaxerxes; but in a battle fought in the alluvial plains above Babylon, Cyrus was killed, his Asiatic troops fled, and the Greeks were left to fend for themselves in enemy countries. Deciding that discretion was the better part of valor, the Greek force retreated northward, crossed the Euphrates and then the Tigris and entered Armenia. The details of the Anabasis have been recorded in brilliant language by Xenophon, one of the Greek leaders, and the notices concerning Armenia are especially invaluable. These are some of the important and curious facts contained in the world's most famous travelogue:

1. The Greeks entered Armenia through the province of Aghtsnik. They soon passed a city called Tigra in which was located the palace of Orontes (Hrant?), the satrap of eastern Armenia. They probably passed what is now the Murad Chai, at a point close by Lake Van, in the province of Dourouperan, and entered Western Armenia, the domain of the satrap Tiribazus who, says Xenophon, was an intimate friend of the king.
2. Tiribazus agreed to allow the Greeks safe passage should they not burn the houses of the people. The Greeks proceeded northward living off the land. It was in the dead of winter, we learn, for a violent snow fell while the Greeks were encamped near a city and prevented their fur-

ther advance. At this city they found an abundance of excellent provisions, cattle, corn, wines dried grapes, and all sorts of vegetables. The cold of the Armenian winter told on the soldiers, and those encamped in the open found that the only way they could keep warm was to lie under the snow which had fallen to the depth of a fathom.

3. Continuing on through the great cold and the deep snow, the Greek soldiers proceeded to come down with malnutritional ailments. What is more, some of the soldiers lost their sight in the snow-glare, and others their toes to the cold. They came to a village the houses of which were built underground, and in which both cattle and humans dwelt. Here we find possibly the first mention of beer (barley-wine) in history. This liquid was found in large open bowls in the houses, hollow reeds floated on the beverage, and whoever wished to imbibe of the beer would merely pick up one of the floating reeds, insert one end into the liquid, and the other into his mouth, and suck in deeply. Xenophon reported it a very pleasant drink to those accustomed to it. Before leaving this village, the head-man gave him some barrels of grape-wine which had been buried in the ground, probably to be aged. Xenophon then relates of the traditional Armenian hospitality, describing all the delicacies placed before them at a repast.

The amazing hegira soon passed out of Armenia and onto Trebizond. All this happened about 400 B.C.

The Persian empire was in absolute decadence. Only Persian gold saved the

empire when a general revolt, instigated by Egypt, broke out in Asia Minor. Artaxerxes died in 362, and was succeeded by Ochus, called Artaxerxes III, an assassin and tyrant, a marvellous force to hasten the fall of any nation. His empire was preserved only through the efforts of his illustrious Greek generals. Egypt was twice brought into the ways of a dutiful subject nation. But a new power was appearing in the civilised world, and it would seem that only Demosthenes had the foresight to envision the things to come. Philip of Macedonia was active in 338, when Artaxerxes' III died. Armenia remained, it would seem, under the Persian yoke; its flocks multiplied and it was gripped by the lassitude brought about by fat bellies and complacency. In its prosperous feudalism it envisioned itself happier than the happiest.

The last king of the Achemenidae was born to rule under an overshadowing planet. Darius had served his country in several important capacities, perhaps the most important of which had been his governorship of Armenia in cir. 345. He was a man of great resources, and of unsullied patriotism, but too late did he see that Alexander was a force of which to be afraid. Darius did everything he could to prepare his empire for the death struggle soon to be joined. He reinforced the garrisons of his provinces, added thousands of mercenary soldiers to his army; and our imagination is stirred by the thought of the thousands of soldiers pouring into Armenia to take up stations on the barrier of the Euphrates, or hastening through Armenia on their way to the Halys, to Phrygia, to Smerdis. Darius even raised disturbances in the Greek states in a vain effort to confine Alexander's attentions to the tumults of his neighboring countries. But to no avail. Alexander,

crossed the Hellespont, met and threw into route Darius' polyglot army at the Granicus and soon overran all of Asia Minor up to Cappadocia, Armenia's neighbor to its west.

In 333 Darius, with a monstrous army composed of troops of all nations under his power, threw himself on Alexander at Issus and there suffered a tremendous defeat. Alexander, diverting himself, occupied Phoenicia and Egypt, and then, in 331, returned for his final combat with Darius.

When the men of Europe faced the proud sons of Asia on the plains near the city of Arbela, just south of the Armenian mountains, the stage was set for one of the great decisive battles of history. Arrian, the Greek historian and chronicler of Alexander's campaign, enumerates the 25 nations which were represented in Darius' monstrous Army, and describes the position and composition of each contingent. The Armenian cavalry, along with that of the Cappadocians and 50 scythe-bearing chariots, were posted in front of the right wing a sector which, it developed, soon bore the full fury of the Macedonian assault. But the Persians, disorganized by the Macedonian phalanx, and unable to withstand the fierce assault of the famous Companion cavalry of Alexander, turned and fled. Darius himself marched hastily through the mountain of Armenia to the strongholds of Media, accompanied in his flight by the Bactrian cavalry, his kinsmen, and others; but it is only possible to conjecture as to what happened to the Armenian elements of Darius' army. Perhaps led by their satrap Orontes, (Mithraustes, the other satrap of the time, was perhaps the "Vahab" of Moses, and hence killed at Arbela), they fled back into Armenia and assumed the mantles of civilian dignity. The defeat of Darius is synchronous with the fall of the dynasty.

of the Haikians of Armenia.

The reduction of Persia was now to all intents and purposes, completed. Darius was soon murdered by his own people and the last Achemenidae took the hand of Ormuzd. Alexander entered Babylon, the southern fortress of the late Empire, and immediately selected Vice-roys for all his newly won provinces. A Persian, one Mithrines, who had rendered Alexander signal service by delivering to him the city of Sardis, of which he had been governor, was rewarded with the vassal kingship of Armenia. This man is known to Moses as Mihrdate; but he is said, by Moses, to have been satrap of Pontus, rather than viceroy of Armenia, as Arrian declares. It is probable that Mithrines actually governed both Armenia and Pontus.

Alexander's conquests went as far as India, but his untimely death, in 323, at the age of 32, obviated his plans for additional conquests. His empire was partitioned among his generals, Egypt, Asia Minor, Macedonia, and Syria became four distinct political entities. In the first partitioning of his empire, Justin tells us, Phrataphernes, one of Alexander's generals, a man whom Armenian calls Neoptolemus, received Armenia (323). Phrataphernes is said to have been succeeded by a person called Hrant or Yervant, undoubtedly an Armenian, who ruled Armenia, perhaps as viceroy until the battle of Ipsus (301) when Seleucus Nicator emerged as sole monarch of all the Greek conquests in Asia, with the sole exception of Lower Syria and Asia Minor. Seleucus, the founder of the Seleucid dynasty of Greek kings of Syria, does not seem to have appointed another viceroy, for no person of this office is mentioned as governing Armenia until 239. But during this entire period, Seleucid Syria was embroiled in many

wars, civil and foreign, and the governors of the provinces are said to have been left to manage their affairs at their own discretion.

In B.C. 250, the Parthians successfully revolted, and declared themselves a sovereign and independent state—an event, as we shall see, of great importance to Armenia. The leader of the revolt was Arsaces I of Parthia, who was the founder of the famed Arsacid line of Parthian kings of Persia. The Arsacidae contributed many branches of royalty to other neighboring countries, and the Arsacid, or Arshagouni, dynasty of Armenia, was one of these royal houses. Parthian pressure on Seleucid Syria became increasingly strong. The tiny kingdom commenced to expand both territorially and in prestige. Media was finally annexed, and the stage was set to move into Armenia.

The situation in Armenia at this time can only be guessed at. In 239, a man bearing the typically Armenian name of Ardavast was in charge of the Armenian government, and he was succeeded, in 220, by another person of possible Armenia antecedents, one (Orontes), or Yervant. Seleucid control of Armenia was, at the best, loose. But we are CERTAIN of this. The Armenian people was beginning to feel that its honeymoon was over, that the days of prosperity, of milk and honey, were coming to a close. The Armenians were commencing to gird their belts, now encompassing stomachs which had perhaps become thin and hungry from the constant stream of tributes which the people were called upon to pay to each succeeding conqueror, as the price of peace, and the expense of their national dignity. They were considering the beauties of freedom, and only a leader was needed. Seleucid Syria was now hardly a threat. Antiochus the Great was enmeshed in a disastrous

war with the rising standards of Rome, and Parthian Persia was still not to be considered dangerous.

Before Antiochus had marched off to defeat at the hands of Rome, he had studied the growing unrest of Armenia and had considered that as nation, divided in two, under two rulers, would hardly consider revolt. To this end, he had appointed two of his generals, Artaxias (Ardashes), and Zariadres (now known to be son and father) to the administration of the two Armenias: Ardashes was to rule over northern and eastern Armenia, and Zariadres over south-western Armenia (Sophene).

When the news of Antiochus' defeat at Mt. Sipylus came to Ardashes in 190, he declared himself an independent king, and his portion of Armenia a free state under his scepter. Zariadres followed suit, and the Roman senate readily, nay eagerly, recognized the new Armenian kings, Ardashes and Zariadres. Ardashes, then, intent on uniting Armenia, turned his attentions to the west and north; and the result of a war was the annexation of the territory roughly comprising the provinces of Dourouperan and Upper Armenia. A new national consciousness bristled in Armenia; the valleys rang with the blows of the smith, and the land of the Haikians became an armed camp as the children of Haik awaited the next command of their beloved king.

With Armenian territories finally reunited, Ardashes directed his attention to the matter of the internal organization of his country. He redrew the boundaries of the holding of the feudal lords and thus did away with most of their bickerings. He set boundary markers at the dividing lines between holdings, and began the process of teaching the satraps that honor and dignity were due a king.

When he received Hannibal, he had already entertained the idea of a great fortified capital city. The famed Carthaginian personally chose a site, and there Ardashes built Artaxata, Ardashad, a city which figured prominently through this period of Armenia's history. Artaxata became a truly royal city; the gods of the country were transferred to within its walls, and great buildings arose within confines.

While Ardashes was contemplating war on Mithrobarzanes, the successor of Zariadres in southwestern Armenia, Antiochus IV Epiphanes marched northward into Armenia and defeated the Armenians of Ardashes; but the mad Epiphanes was only concerned with the collection of his tribute; he released Ardashes after the latter had promised to pay his annual stipend regularly, and Ardashes returned, still king, to Artaxata. Old and broken in spirit, still fully conscious of the defects of his young kingdom, Ardashes died in 159. If Haik was the King Arthur of the Armenians, Ardashes was their George Washington.

Ardavast, the son of Ardashes, assumed the Armenian purple. His pleasure was to see the growing hostility between Parthia and Syria; and when the quarrel came openly to sustained blows, Ardavast again shook off the Seleucid yoke and extending his hands to his gods informed them, and the world, that he was an independent monarch. But he reigned only 10 years, dying in 149.

The succession of the kings of Armenia is now doubtful. We are informed by the Roman historians that Tigranes I succeeded his father Ardavast and ruled B.C. 123, was in turn succeeded by Ardavast II who ruled until B.C. 55, when Tigranes II, the Great, took over the dignity and responsibilities of monarch. But this ac-

count is doubtful, for it dispenses with, in cavalier fashion, the person and reign of Valarsaces who, we are told by Moses of Khoren, was the brother of Mithridates I of Parthia, the great king who finally broke the power of Syria. Valarsaces, declares Moses and all the Armenian historians, was given Armenia by Mithridates. Historians vehemently question the actual existence of such a man as Valarsaces pointing to the Western historians and exclaiming on the lack of mention of this man in their works. This writer had long suspected that a *Bacasis* mentioned by Justin as having been placed over Media by Mithridates I, of Parthia, was identifiable with Valarsaces not only on phonetic grounds, but also on the evidences of chronology, as well as on Justin's further statement that Mithridates went on to conquer "all the land from Mount Caucasus to the river Euphrates"—which can be no other land but Armenia.

Bacasis, then, could very well have been placed over Armenia and Media, and it should be remembered that the northwesterly portions of Armenia were known in those days as Media. It is possible moreover that Justin really meant that portion of Armenia, rather than Media in the full sense of that word. At any rate, It is difficult to disregard the reign of a king whose rule is considered such an important one by Armenian historians.

According to Moses, Valarsaces, was the brother of Mithridates I of Parthia, and consequently, an Arsacid; the dynasty he founded in Armenia was called the Armenian Arsacid (Arshagouni) dynasty. When this noble Parthian ascended the throne of Armenia he found his new subjects to be wild and uncultured people, ignorant completely of the arts and sciences, and of all the niceties of life. The activation of his very plan to con-

solidate the Armenian holdings on the west, or to expand those holdings to Capadoccia was delayed for some months because his troops, hitherto undisciplined,—a wild, unruly, mob,—were in need of the rigorous training that moulds victorious armies. After his war against the Greek subjects to his west, Valarsaces plunged into the task of complete reorganization of the land. He transferred some unhealthy areas in the northern provinces into liveable lands, tamed the robber tribes of the Caucasus, gave them leaders and administrative system, and transferred his seat of government to more seasonable Nisibis.

The customs of his court, the dignities and offices within his court and kingdom, were patterned after the Parthian style. The noble Pakradouni family (Bagratid) was honored with the office of "Takatir" (crown-placer, or crown bearer), a position which automatically called for the command of the royal cavalry, (asbed) his personal body guard was composed of men of the race of Khor, direct descendants of Haik, a noble Armenian was appointed steward of the hunt, the members of the Ardzrouni satrapial family were the standard bearers, nobles were appointed to supervise the king's ice-houses and wines, falconers were chosen, a definite order of nobility was established, governors were appointed over the territories of the kingdom, possessions with definite boundaries were given to each of the noble families who thus became satraps, and the hereditary honor of head priesthood was given to the Vahnouni, the descendants of Vahagn, a Haikian king who had been deified by the Armenians. Valarsaces was eminently fair in his delegation of authority and the offices of nobility, rewarding character, personality, honesty, and virtue wherever met. What Ardashers had commenced to do, he completed. The king was raised to his

proper and high plane; an arrogant nobility respected the power and dignity of the throne, and civilized ceremony was observed in the court of the new king.

Valarsaces watched especially carefully over the resuscitation of the Armenian brand of paganism, the practice of which had degenerated either into nothingness, or into the worship of creatures alien to that religion. Adding to the native Armenian gods the images of the gods of his ancestors, Valarsaces asked the nation to bend in worship before these gods. But tolerance was practiced by this judicious king: when the Bagratid family, of ancient Jewish stock, refused to abandon its old Judaic monotheism and to turn to the nation's new idols, they were not persecuted; nor were they shorn of their important dignities, but were treated with even greater respect by a king who recognized that a man's religious convictions were worthy of the highest regard even on the part of kings. The city of Van, built by Menuas, was completely rebuilt and enlarged. Realizing that he too was human and subject to the impolitic passions of all who inherit the earth, he appointed a secretary whose specific job it was to remind the king of justice and charity when his wrath might influence him into making unjust decisions. Although he followed the system of eastern feudalism and decreed that the people of the cities were of a rank superior to the peasants he abjured the urbanites to restrain their haughteur towards their provincial kin in the interests of national solidarity and harmony. To obviate jealousies among his Arsacid kin, he ordered that the city of Nisibis should be occupied by only the king and the crown prince, and delegated his other offspring to dwell royally in the canton of Hashdiank, near Daron, in the province of Dourouperan. Revenues and taxes were fixed, and

Armenia, ruled by a king allied by blood to the strongest power of the east, might look with great joy to a prospectus of peace, plenty, power, and dignity. Valarsaces died after a reign of 22 years, and was succeeded by Arsaces, his son, who ruled Armenia 128-115.

Arsaces I, though jealously following the pattern of his father's reforms, was a haughty man. His tolerance of all but the religion of the nation caused him to trouble the Bagratids. After waging a successful war in Pontus, and supervising the ingress of a great number of alien peoples into the northern provinces of Armenia, he died.

The succession of Armenian kings becomes here even more confused. Moses states that Arsaces was succeeded by Ardashes (Artaxias), but he is chronologicaly in error, Ardashes having reigned, as we have shown, at a previous time. It is perhaps logical to say that Ardashes II of the Roman histories reigned until the accession of Tigranes II (the Great) in 95. It is also more than probable that Armenia became more closely controlled by the Parthian kings who had succeeded Mithridates.

At any rate, Armenia was on the threshold of a momentary greatness that focused upon it the eyes, and perhaps the hopes, of the entire civilized world. From the fall of Urartu in 620 to this time, Armenia had been enjoying a period of prosperity that had been broken very infrequently. The great latent resources of the nation were ready for use at the dictates of a militant and ambitious sovereign. Tigranes was the man. He had received an excellent Hellenic education, had studied the arts of Western war, and was, upon his accession, a sober and mature man of close to 45 years of age. His years spent as hostage in the Parthian court had produced in him a great hate for his kinsmen of the neigh-

boring empire of which his nation now found itself a nominal vassal; and his accession itself had been achieved only upon his agreement to cede 70 great valleys of Armenia to the Parthian king, Arsaces IX, known as Mithridates II.

The organized era of Valarsaces and Arsaces had been succeeded by one of high disunity in Armenia. The nobles, disdainful of the central authority, had become virtual sovereigns in their own dominions, and violent and bloody internal contests were going on. The situation amounted almost to civil war. The first concern of the new monarch, therefore, was a strong centralized government supported by the zeal and fidelity of his nobles and their people. This his genius was able to accomplish in a comparatively short time. He then turned to the reunification of all nominally Armenian territories under his own sceptre. He reorganized the Armenian army and made of it an efficient fighting machine. His next step was to make an alliance with Mithridates the Great, the energetic king of Pontus; and this newly formed friendship was cemented when Tigranes married Cleopatra, the beautiful young daughter of the Pontian king. But this alliance was probably Tigranes' undoing, for Pontus was an arch-foe of the Roman Empire which was pressing deep into Asia Minor.

Joint action was decided upon. Mithridates was to rule all territorial gains in Asia Minor, Tigranes, in the south, in Syria and Cilicia. While Mithridates had to contend with the Romans in his ambitious projects, Tigranes had comparatively easy opposition in the south. Tigranes seemed to have the better of the bargain. But Mithridates asked his colleague to attack Cappadocia the ruler of which was friendly with the Romans. The great Armenian army burst over the Euphrates into Cappadocia,

that land was inundated by Armenian might; and we may imagine the zeal and enthusiasm of the Armenian troopers as they marched through the land that Aram had won centuries before. In accordance with their treaty, Tigranes turned over Cappadocia to Mithridates. But the latter was driven out by the Cappadocian king and the Roman legions; Tigranes ran to the support of his father-in-law. Again the Armenian legions overwhelmed the enemy, again Cappadocia was given to Mithridates, but again he lost the territory.

But Tigranes now turned to the matter of his own ambitions. His passionate hate for Parthia was allayed in a violent campaign (88 B.C.) which not only won back the 70 lost valleys, but which annexed the provinces of Gordjaik, Azerbaidjan and Northern Mesopotamia to Armenia. After further conquests in the south, Tigranes conquered a part of Media, and he commemorated his exploits by inscribing the presumptuous formula "king of kings" on his coins. Parthia effected a treaty of alliance with Tigranes, and the kings of Albania and Iberia bowed their heads in vassalage to him.

In B.C. 83, the hardy and experienced Armenian veterans smashed into Syria; Antioch, the capital city of Seleucia, was captured, the great cities of Syria one after the other fell into the hands of the Armenians, and Tigranes indulged in the boastful gesture of having the Seleucid crown placed on his royal head. All Syria from the city of Ptolemais northward was soon pacified, and the Syrians, long the victims of the greatest tyrannies on the parts of the Seleucids, were allowed to enjoy a prosperity which that ancient land had not experienced for hundreds of years. Tigranes then subjugated Cilicia; Syria and Cilicia were made one satrapy and General Pakarad governed this province from An-

tioch. A third invasion of Cappadocia, again at the request of Mithridates, proved successful and 300,000 Greek inhabitants were removed to Tigranacerta, the capital of Armenia. Phoenicia was overrun (72 B.C.), and Jerusalem was spared only upon the acceptance by Tigranes of a rich gift tendered as a price of peace by Alexandra, queen of the Jews.

Tigranes was now the most powerful ruler in the East. His court became one of the showplaces of the world. He either built, or completely remodeled the great city of Tigranagerd (near Diarbekir), the splendors of which were discussed all over the east; tremendous walls girded the city, imposing public buildings were found everywhere, the king's palace gleamed like a jewel, a huge imperial theater catered to the amusements of the city's cosmopolitan population and the suburbs contained the magnificent mansions of the nobles of the court. Dethroned kings waited on the table of the autocratic author of all this elegance and the streets of the city often rang with the contemptuous laughter of the people at the spectacle of the four fallen monarchs who ran before the chariot of the "King of Kings" as he rode through his beloved city.

Up to now, Tigranes had veered away from a direct conflict with Rome. When Mithridates fled to his court, he met with a cold reception at the hands of his son-in-law. But when Lucullus' envoy arrived at Antioch and demanded the person of Mithridates, Tigranes rejected the demand so insultingly that the Roman saw in it a declaration of war. Lucullus' forces drove toward Tigranagerd with amazing rapidity, Tigranes' advance units were defeated, and when the Armenian king finally was galvanized to act, he was too late; he fled into the Taurus mountains to regroup his legions. But Lucullus' generalship was su-

perb, and Tigranes, anxious to be distant from the danger, marched away into the interior of Armenia, and Tigranagerd was invested by the Roman legions.

But Tigranes hurried back to the aid of his beleaguered metropolis. Throwing caution and strategy to the winds, he attacked Lucullus frontally, was defeated, fled into the mountains where Mithridates joined him; and the scene must have been one of great blackness.

Tigranagerd fell finally when the Greek officers of Mithridates' contingents of the garrison and the Greek mercenary soldiers secretly opened the doors of the city on a night and allowed the Roman legions to enter. Great loot was found in the city.

In 68 B.C., Lucullus commenced to advance toward Artaxata; but so fiercely was he met at the Arazani river by Tigranes and Mithridates, that he was forced to wheel his forces southward. Once in Mesopotamia, Lucullus captured Nisibis after a long siege. But Cappadocia fell to Tigranes and Mithridates, Asia Minor hailed the two conquerors, and Rome lifted its head in sudden apprehension. Lucullus was recalled, and Pompey was given command of the Roman forces in Asia minor.

But the Goddess of Fortune was slowly turning her back on Tigranes. When the old king was apprised of the revolt of his son, Tigranes Junior, who was busy in Armenia seizing his father's throne and charming his people, the king might have dropped a tear or two before he hurried back into his kingdom to inflict a disastrous defeat upon the rebels. But his son fled to Phraates III, king of Persia, who not only received him honorably, but gave him his daughter in marriage. The Parthian king, then, with Tigranes Jr., marched into Armenia, laid siege to Artaxata; Tigranes, in the mountains, watched over the proceedings like a hawk. But Phraates

tiring of the arduous campaign retired leaving the false prince to continue the siege. The father then taught the son another lesson; the renegade, having experienced the ineffectual friendship aid of Phraates decided this time to turn to the Romans. He fled to Pompey, and aided that soldier crush Pontus; Mithridates, gave up the ghost, fled to the Crimea. Tigranes was left alone.

Tigranes Jr., then led Pompey to Artaxata; Tigranes decided to preserve his crown, though his dignity might suffer. He submitted to Rome; and the Roman military commanders and dignitaries, assembled before the walls of Ardashad, were treated to the gratifying spectacle of an Oriental monarch bending before Western might; Tigranes removed his crown, fell before his master; but Pompey raised him, kissed him on the cheek in politic affection, and placed the King's crown back on his head. The ensuing negotiations culminated in what is known as the Treaty of Artaxata. The Armenian empire was destroyed, although the kingdom still remained. Cappadocia, Cilicia, Syria, Phoenicia, and Mesopotamia passed to Roman rule, the province of Sophene (Fourth Armenia) was given to Tigranes Jr., Armenia was to pay a war indemnity of 6000 talents (5,500,000 dollars), a colossal sum, and the succeeding Armenian kings would have to bear the Roman stamp of approval before their coronation. In addition, as an ally of Rome, the Armenian kings were to place their armies at the disposal of Rome in the event such aid was needed.

Staggering as were these terms, the treaty with the Romans was beneficial to Armenia in many ways. Rome would aid it in the event of any aggression on the part of neighboring Parthia, and Armenia would be constantly under the gracious in-

fluence of Western civilization. What is more, the crafty Tigranes saw to it that his treasures were not drained in the payment of the enormous indemnity; when Pompey agreed to take his due only from the treasures stored in the fortresses of Fourth Armenia, Tigranes Sr., rendered virtually bankrupt the territory given to Tigranes Jr. That unfortunate creature, blackly meditating on the wrongs he had received from Pompey, without dignity or crown, not only insulted the Roman, but began to plot against him. He was arrested without delay, whisked off a captive to Rome where he was subsequently executed because of his intrigues in Roman political circles. Fourth Armenia was given back to Tigranes. But the disappointed and broken monarch, he who had once styled himself "King of Kings," died soon after.

The real importance of Tigranes' reign lies not in the vast territorial acquisitions which produced an Armenian empire; but in that he was able to instill the Armenians who had hitherto been content to wallow lax and fat in the trough of political servitude with a fierce nationalism. In truth, a nation had been reborn; and the Armenians, as they listened to the bards of Koghten singing of the deeds of heroism of their early Haikian kings, wondered why their parents had been content to remain under the foreign yoke without revolt, with resistance — the virtual slaves of their bellies, according to Moses of Khoren. Though a buffer state of Rome, though seemingly inextricably sandwiched between the Roman and Parthian Empires, the nation Tigranes left seethed with thoughts of freedom, and today's Armenian nationalism is founded on the rebirth of patriotism sired by the Armenian people of the days of Tigranes.

Tigranes' son Artavast ruled Armenia from 56 to 34 B.C. Armenia was now em-

broiled in Rome's war with Parthia. When Orodes, king of Parthia, invaded Armenia in order to prevent Ardavast from sending military aid to the Roman Commander Crassus who was in the midst of a disastrous campaign against the Parthians in Mesopotamia, Ardavast, seeing that no aid was forthcoming from the Romans, and considering the sanctity of his crown more important than his oath of allegiance to Rome, made peace with Orodes and, as a token of his sincerity towards Parthia, gave his sister in marriage to the son of the Parthian king. The head of the unfortunate Crassus, dismembered from his body where he had been killed in Mesopotamia, was delivered to Orodes as he sojourned in Artaxata on the occasion of the marriage of his son and the daughter of Armenia. Seventeen years later, when Mark Anthony marched through Armenia on his way to Parthia to avenge the defeat of Crassus, Ardavast joined his calamitous expedition with a contingent of royal troops; but the Parthians forced the allies to retreat; and Ardavast, foreseeing the defeat of the Romans which eventually occurred, detached his troops and returned to Armenia. Anthony escaped death, fled to safety in Roman territories, then tried desperately to get Ardavast, whom he blamed as the author of his unsuccessful campaign against Parthia, into his power. Finally leading a Roman force to Artaxata, he asked the Armenian king to join him in an interview. Ardavast was arrested, the country was looted, the temples of the gods were pillaged. The enraged Armenian troops immediately proclaimed Ardashes, son of Ardavast, king of Armenia; but this man, realizing that nothing could be gained by sporadic attempts on the organization of the Romans, took refuge in the court of Phraates IV, of Parthia; and it was an easy matter to convince the Parthian that he should fight

Rome.

Ardavast himself was bound in golden chains with his wives and children, was taken to Egypt there to be first displayed ignominiously by Anthony before his beloved Cleopatra, and still later beheaded. Ardavast was one of the best beloved of Armenian kings. He was a well-known poet and dramatist, his plays, written in Greek, having been presented in Athens and Rome. Students of history will discover that Anthony's barbaric treatment of Ardavast horrified even the most sanguinary of Romans, and was used by his enemies as an excuse for acting against him.

Upon the flight of Ardashes, son of Ardavast, to Parthia, Alexander, the illegitimate son of Anthony and Cleopatra, ruled Armenia nominally as king from 34 to 31. But Ardashes returned to his kingdom with an army of Parthians, and amid the rejoicings of his people, became ruler. Rome, deeply afflicted with the sense of shame brought upon it by Anthony, and fully apprehensive of an Armenia under Parthian control, proceeded to make overtures of friendship to Armenia. Ardashes was violently anti-Roman, and with a splendid reason; for this, the pro-Roman faction in his court conspired against him, and the throne of Armenia was stained by the blood of its occupant (20 B.C.). Augustus Caesar was asked for a new king; he chose Tigranes III, one of the many sons of the ill-fated Ardavast who were wasting away as royal prisoners in Rome. This king, the complete puppet of Rome, went through the gestures of sovereign from 20 B.C., to 6 B.C. His son Tigranes IV was his nominal successor; but not being approved by Rome, he was deposed by a Roman army, and Ardavast III was placed on the throne. After an unpopular reign of three years, he was stripped of his dignities by the people themselves. Tigranes IV returned,

assumed the purple, but died (2 B.C.) in a military campaign against a neighboring people. His queen Erato then became sole sovereign, but she fled the throne after a troubled reign of only 2-3 months. The Armenian throne, then, was in this unsettled condition as Christ entered the world. The nobility, and the people itself, were split on the matter of what nation to favor, Rome or Parthia. Of the two, the latter group would seem to stand on sturdier historic ground. Roman rule had brought fire and sword to Armenia, the throne of the nation itself had been degraded by the arrogance of the Romans, and the temples of the nation had been sacrilegious against, and looted. Roman word had not been

good, and in the eyes of the people, the "civilized" Westerners were more barbarous than the frankly savage Parthians. If the country could not assume an absolutely independent status, it was better to live under the control of a barbarian, whose oath could be trusted than an elegant Westerner whose promise was worthless. Armenia, at the turn of the century the pawn in the game played by two empires, stood undecided, helpless, on one hand at the complete mercy of people whom she did not trust, and on the other hand the subject of the questionable justice of a people whom she acutely disliked, but whose actions had, up to now, proved of greater benefit to the nation.

K I N G A R A M

(An Old Country Story)

DERENIK DEMIRJIAN

This thing happened in the provincial town. I was a child of five years at the time. My world was the front yard of our home, our neighbors and their children, a world of a thousand and one wonders.

I had two playmates, Sandoukhd and Khosrovadoukhd, two sisters who were slightly older than I. I spent my time with them all day long, playing games, racing and chattering. Their father never showed up and this thing surprised me no end. Could it be that they never had a father?

On one occasion, when I asked Sandoukhd and Khosrovadoukhd if they had a father they said they had one, and that their father was King Aram.

"King Aram?" The answer shocked me. I could not believe my ears.

"All right, where is he?" I asked challengingly.

"He is somewhere else."

Why does he not come home?"

"He will come."

King Aram! The idea intrigued me, our neighbor, the man who lived in our compound was King Aram.

First, I had never seen a king in my life, and then, an Armenian king. But why didn't he show up in the town? Where could he be wandering? What business had he outside of his realm? And what kind of a man was he? What kind of men were the kings?

When I got over my initial shock I

started to ask myself seriously, how could it be that the father of Sandoukhd and Khosrovadoukhd is a king? That evening I asked my father how come the father of those girls was a king while my father was a carpenter?

"Oh that! He is King Aram alright, his case is different, my child," my mother set me at ease, as if she had made a profound explanation.

All the same, doubts — and big doubts — kept gnawing at my soul. I could not find a logical solution to my puzzle. I wanted to see King Aram as soon as possible. I kept dreaming about it, and visualizing it all the time. My imagination conjured up all kinds of pictures. A golden crown on his head, a purple robe on his shoulders, a bejeweled sword hanging from his diamond-studded belt, a royal scepter in one hand and a globe in the other. This was the king I knew, the one I had seen in pictures. Ah yes, it was intriguing indeed, highly intriguing.

From that time on I began to look in a different light at Sandoukhd and Khosrovadoukhd. Their names assumed a new significance in my view. They already became mysterious, legendary characters in my estimation. Their faces, their attire and their conversation had a regal quality, something out of this world.

Suddenly my mind took a new turn. I wondered how it would look like when

Sandoukhd and Khosrovadoukhd turned to King Aram and spoke to him, and how he would answer them, and the fact that King Aram was their father. What happy creatures! How was it possible that I had failed to see in my two playmates the daughters of a king? They certainly had succeeded in keeping their secret from me. What girls! What superb, royal girls! That, too, made a deep impression upon me.

They were a poor family. Neighbors could often hear their domestic quarrels and even their wailing. Their mother, a sturdy mournful creature, gave nothing to her daughters while the latter incessantly kept begging. Sometimes she beat them, but despite their misery and want, their life held a sacred halo for me. That was the home of King Aram. Meanwhile, the remote and confused images which I had learned from Armenian history and all the fantastic events and personalities which I knew took concrete form in my imagination as I watched the behavior of that family.

One day, in the street, while I was playing with my playmates, completely oblivious of their royal character, suddenly Khosrovadoukhd exclaimed "Sandoukhd, father has come."

Sandoukhd and Khosrovadoukhd ran to the corner of the street where their father made his appearance, namely King Aram! The girls grasped his hands and happily made toward the home. With a beating heart I ran after them, my eyes wide open, listening to the newcomer. He was an ordinary man with a jaded beard, black curly hair, a faded military cap on his head, his chest encased in a patched jacket, his feet shod in slippers and a filled canteen hanging from his shoulder.

My curiosity waxed stronger and I lost all sense of proportion. Nevertheless, I came closer to King Aram, and my eyes constantly fixed on him, I accompanied

him to the front yard. King Aram reached the door of their home, lowered his canteen, and stooping, entered inside the house.

I did not venture to enter inside the house and my playmates, carried away by the arrival of their father, did not come out. I went straight home and told my mother about it.

"Mother, King Aram has come home."

"He did?" my mother smiled ever so lightly and clammed up.

I remained at the front yard, listening in on the conversation which was going on inside for a long time but I could not make either head or tail of it. Whether the mysterious character King Aram was not speaking, or was speaking in a very low voice, I did not catch a single word of his. I went home and sitting on the sill of the window, gazed at the window of King Aram with tense attention. A mysterious dim light was casting equally mysterious shadows on the walls. Could it be it was the shadow of King Aram? Presently I saw the clear outline of a flashing hand. Whose hand could it be? Apparently a conversation was going on, yet I could hear nothing, of course. And they were talking in the presence of King Aram, and even perhaps with him. I wondered what they were saying and what answers the King gave them. What a miracle, what a significant event it would be, to hear and to see all that was going on in that room!

I was in the midst of these cogitations when my mother ordered me to go to bed. For a long time I lulled myself with dreams of King Aram and his daughters, until, at last, gentle sleep pulled a veil over my eyes, putting an end to that magnificent vision.

It was quite late when I woke up the next morning. The sun was directly over my head. I sprang up and rushed to the window, to gaze on the home of King

Aram. There was a profound silence. I dressed and came out into the front yard.

Even since the preceding day King Aram was still an enchanting personality for me, jaded cap and his patched jacket (too incongruous for a king). I had an intense desire to hear the voice of King Aram, to hear his word.

Suddenly the door opened and there stood King Aram to his full height, accompanied by a peasant who, God knows by what miracle, either at night or in the morning, had come in to join the King. He looked back and said to his wife or his daughters:

"Do as I told you."

Then turning to his companion he said. "Let's go."

As the two passed by me I ran closer and looked attentively at King Aram who, I thought, looked even more sad and mysterious. Sandoukhd and Khosrovadoukhd did not come out of the house. King Aram strode into the street, turned around a curb and, like a legendary creature, disappeared from my sight. Where he went? On what business? All these were an undecipherable cuneiform for my childish imagination, only to be filled in and decorated with the same childish fancy.

Thereafter I avoided seeing Sandoukhd and Khosrovadoukhd. I had a keen sense of alieness toward them who now had become inaccessible strange beings for me. So I concentrated my attention on meeting King Aram in the street to learn something from him. If I could find him and learn what he had to say.

Finally I succeeded in achieving my aim. The following evening he entered the courtyard, accompanied by a few villagers. The latter silently passed by me and stepped inside the house. Sandoukhd and Khosrovadoukhd ran inside and again were lost.

Slowly and on tip toe I made my way

toward the window for my eavesdropping. A gay conversation was going on inside, although I could not distinguish what was being said. I was particularly struck by the thunderous voice of one of the townsmen. The wife of King Aram loomed in front of the window, carrying a tea pot and tea cups. Suddenly I heard the villagers shout in a loud voice:

"Here is to your health."

"Here is to you," some voice responded.

They started to laugh and voices rose higher. I came closer to the window. The bellowing peasant now started to sing in a strident, shaking voice. Then he repeated his question:

"Tell us once again, what was that story?"

"I have told it a hundred times. How many times more do you want me to tell it?" a voice answered.

"Come now, King Aram, I beg of you, tell it once again," the bellowing voice insisted.

"The letter came one month ago. The Chinese King had written to our Armenian nation, asking them to send to him one of the Mamikonian Princes, to come and reclaim the treasures which they had left behind.

"Where are the Mamikonian Princes?"

"They are here somewhere, we are looking for them."

"What do you know!" there was a chorus from the rest of the guests.

"Ah, your mouth is a temple (you speak words of wisdom), King Aram," the boisterous peasant shouted, "fill her up, this one to King Aram," and he resumed his singing

When he was through singing, King Aram continued his story. "The bearer of the letter is the Chinese Prince Khin-Khon, the letter was wrapped in a leather cover, written on a parchment, with Chinese ink which is immune to water."

"Why the water, King Aram?"

"The Prince swam along the sea coast, to avoid the British Intelligence," explained King Aram mysteriously.

I felt an exhilarating sensation down my spine.

"Ho, may God hang on to your lips, King Aram," bellowed the peasant, "fill her up, fill her up, let us drink once more to King Aram."

That was a dream day and a night of enchantment when I went to bed. Where was the Chinese Prince now? Would they be able to find the Mamikonian Princes? How could one see all that?

Years passed, I was a mature lad now, and the riddle of King Aram was solved. Solved were the riddles of the Chinese King and the Mamikonian Princes. It turned up that King Aram was a common school teacher who, having assembled a few pupils in the villages, the churchyards and exclusive halls, taught them the elements of literature in return for a modest pay to support his family. A nobleminded poor man who was devoted to his family. But as I later found out, he loved to gather the peasants and tell them tall stories — imaginary events, massacres, victories, exploits, and who knows? what crimes he described which had been committed in the land of Armenia, all thanks to King Aram's lively imagination. And of course he exaggerated the number of the slaughtered enemy, or who knows? he was so unrestrained in his description of the exploits of the Armenian kings that the peasants, more amused by than taking seriously his stories, had exalted him with the title of "King Aram," a fitting modification of his real name of Aram Varzhabet (Teacher Aram).

The curious thing was, when they accosted him with this title he did not resent it, nor felt offended. The new sobriquet having traveled from the villages into the

market place of the city had reached the ears of the innocent Sandoukhd and Khosrovadoukhd.

After that King Aram was stripped of his title in my eyes and became plain Aram now on speaking terms with each other and he used to inform me on the happenings in the villages, the general political situation and all sorts of events which never took place in reality.

Plainly he was a man of great imagination. Each day he invented three to four ghastly happenings with all the gory details, without batting an eye. Whence did all these inconceiveable happenings come? What forced him to invent so many stupid and even crude hallucinations? Could it be he had some financial expectations? But what would be profit either materially or spiritually when they simply did not believe him, laughed at him and dismissed him?

In the latter years something happened which had a fatal effect on King Aram. On the last page of a newspaper appeared a one word advertisement: "Ayerolita."

Nothing more.

A few readers of the newspaper became curious about the meaning of that single word — an advertisement boxed in black. They used to talk about it, speculate on it and advance opinions. But nothing came out of these speculations. They could not fathom the meaning of the word. There was a teacher who told me that the word was a puzzle and the one who could solve it would receive a big prize.

What made the thing even more intriguing, there was not a single hint or explanation to help the reader, no one knew the purpose of advertising, whether it was a puzzle or something else. There was no possible way of dealing with the word. It remained a perfect enigma.

Apparently, King Aram, too, applied him-

self to the mysterious word. But, surprise of all surprises, he never uttered a word about it, he simply listened to what others had to say about it. When one day they asked him about it, he replied laconically: "That's something else."

"What something else?"

"Who knows?" King Aram replied enigmatically and again fell silent. But he was deeply steeped in contemplation.

And one day, when a group of readers were assembled in the city reading room, the greater part of them teachers, King Aram barged in, and with the air of having made a sensational discovery, announced that there were posters in the streets with the single word "Ayerolita."

"What could it possibly be?" they all were curious.

Then King Aram gathered them all around him and made the following profound revelation:

"That is a word which a radio station in a certain city picked up from the air, supposedly coming from the Planet Mars."

"Who says so?" we asked.

King Aram explained: "I read it of late in a scientific journal. The article said in America they are working on a rocket which will fly to the Planet Mars. The inhabitants of Mars have been sending signals with light movements. The scientists have deciphered these signals reducing it to one word. But the meaning of the word still is incomprehensible."

"Where did you learn all this?" we asked him.

King Aram was animated and started to explain that for past month he had been working on an ancient manuscript of Chaldean origin which dealt with astronomical signs and predictions. That is where he

had read it, and here King Aram looked around him, lowered his voice, and whispered in a scarcely audible voice:

"I came across a word — Aya—erot—elli-dah. That must be the word Ayerolita and the results of the signals from Mars apparently have an intimate connection with the word which we shall soon know that for centuries they have been calling to the inhabitants of our Earth."

A funeral silence fell upon the spectators.

The man's imagination, his seriousness, and his fight for his imagination astonished us. How could he have thought of such fantastic things in broad daylight?

However, the profound silence was broken by a professor of physics who had been silently listening to this fantastic explanation all this time.

"My esteemed fellow-citizens," the professor announced, without a tinge of sarcasm. "Ayerolita" is the film of the known Russian writer Ayerolita which will be released soon in the whole of the Soviet Union. Ayerolita is simply the heroine of that story."

"Then it is a film!"

"Yes, a film, and it has been advertised with that single word to arouse curiosity. There is no Mars, no radio station nor ancient manuscript."

An Homeric chuckle rocked the whole of the reading room. King Aram blushed, looked silly, and came out of the hall crestfallen.

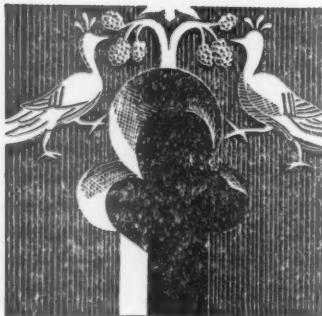
A few years later I heard he had died. He had died without having his dream come true, a dream which he had conjured up to rehabilitate himself as an important person.

Poor King Aram.

ABOUT THE AUTHOR

A talented and prolific writer of both prose and poetry, Derenik Demirjian

was one of those few who enriched the Armenian literature in the first half of the 20th century. He is noted for his "Nazar the Brave," "Fatherland" (Yergir Haireni), "Vardanank and many historical novels. He was an established writer before the advent of the Soviets but after the coming of the new masters, like many others of his colleagues, he paid his tribute to the Marxian ideology and consequently the purity of his style and content suffered. "Vardanank," an historical novel about the Armenian war against ancient Persia for the preservation of the Christian religion, was his best work. written during the patriotic upsurge of 1943 during the last war when Soviet writers were given full freedom to appeal to the patriotism of the several nationalities of the Soviet Union for the defense of the "common fatherland." Later, when the victory was won and the Soviet sense of security returned, this patriotic work was censored and purged, with deletions of large segments of the original. No doubt he was forced to make these changes under duress and quite contrary to his personal wishes. This story, "King Aram," beautiful in the simplicity of its style and its remarkable abstention from any Marxian ideological tint, is a vivid and engrossing portrayal of the village "Varzahaper" (Village school teacher) who is a veritable institution in Armenian rural society. Derenik Demirjian died in December, 1956, in Erivan, the capital of Armenia, at the ripe old age of eighty.



THE FALL OF KARS

ARTASHES BABALIAN

NOTE — The fall of Kars in the initial stages of the Armeno-Turkish War of 1920 shall ever remain one of the most controversial episodes of contemporary Armenian history. Enemies of the Armenian Revolutionary Federation which at the time was in control of the government of the Republic of Armenia have made a considerable ado with the celebrated chant, "The Dashnaks surrendered Kars without firing a shot," thus placing the onus of the failure of the Armenian soldier to fight directly on the shoulders of the Federation.

Much has been written on the subject and many have been the extenuating explanations. The present chapter by the pen of Artashes Babalian, an eye witness and participant of the events, (he was Minister of Interior of the Republic of Armenia) is one more contribution, debatable as it may be in many of its conclusions, to a controversy which has busied Armenian historians for quite some time. The article appeared in the Armenian language "Hairenik" Monthly, October, 1923, approximately three years after the overthrow of the Independent Armenian Republic.

The Hairenik editor at the time published the article with unmistakable reservations in regard to Babalian's conclusions, characterizing him as one who had been

guided mostly by his subjective, rather than objective rationalizations.

A perusal of the article will reveal that, from among a host of authentic reasons, Babalian places the stress for the Kars fiasco on the incompetence of Armenian commanders and the officers, rather than the valor of the Armenian soldier. This argument has a certain validity which cannot be questioned, yet it should be borne in mind that the pertinent observation of the Hairenik Editor in regard to subjective reasoning is very much apparent as seen in his professional hostility to the officers of the Armenian High Command.

Furthermore, Babalian's argument, despite its cogency, leaves a great vacuum in a comprehensive understanding of the laws of causation. No matter how true it might have been that the Armenian officers, trained in a Russian setting, failed to share the suffering and the affliction of the Armenian people, to say nothing of their aspirations, to independence, it is difficult to comprehend the utter lack of professional pride on the part of a military which permits itself to the humiliation of such a miserable exhibition not only by its refusal to fight but its downright cowardice. Certainly there must have been other factors which determined the dismal failure of Kars — THE EDITORS.

The Government and the Parliament of Armenia, during the two and a half years of Armenia's independence, unfortunately did not pay the necessary heed to the problem of neighboring Turkey. After the signing of the armistice it was the prevailing opinion that the nationalist movement of Ankara was nothing but the last spasms of dying Turkey. In fact the power and influence of the Ankara Government was a secret to us until the end of the war.

Specifically, very little had been done about the study of Erzeroum and other close vicinities of Armenia. The information received came from sources which were not very reliable, in the region of Kars in particular our intelligence was supplied by "friendly" Muslims. To the end, we had no intelligence service in Turkey. Sometimes we got our information from the Georgian military staff and that was very meager in regard to matters which interested us. An effort was made to send secret agents to the region of Trebizond, expenses were made, but all to no avail. Our diplomatic representatives of abroad were either silent about the Kemalist movement, or they braced up our government with their optimistic reports.

In July of 1920 it was decided to occupy Olti by concentrating forces in the region of Kars, striving to reach the Black Sea. In the same month, however, our division in Kosorfenyak was attacked by the local Turkish forces, and badly defeated, lost to the enemy some cannon, ammunition and wounded soldiers.

At that time the information we received from Kars was contradictory. The military authorities insisted that the attackers were the Turkish regulars while the civic authorities wired us that the mob of Olti, terrorized by the lootings and the atrocities of our troops, had attacked our guards of

the First Regiment, and having surprised them, had put them to flight.

The beginning of July our regiment in Sarikamish made an unsuccessful attempt to occupy Bartous which was a great strategic center, but they were repulsed by the Turkish forces. At that time the Government of Armenia was busy staving off repeated Bolshevik invasions resulting in a series of stubbornly fought engagements in Zangezour and Ghazakh-Shamshatin. The Bolshevik Government was bent on occupying Armenia.

Our Government and the Parliament were also busy fighting against the internal enemies. The regions of Vedi-Basar, Zangi-Basar, Sharour and Nakhitchevan were a constant cause of worry. Our chief attention, however, was centered on the north.

As a result of all this, when we received letters from Bekir-Sami Bey and Kiazim Karabekir Pasha, we paid very little heed to them and their replies took neither controversy nor time. In these letters the two Turkish leaders protested against the "tyrannical" actions of our troops toward the Muslims and demanded the evacuation of the region of Finyak-Kosor.

Bekir Sami Bey (the Foreign Minister) wrote to our Foreign Minister that, to create friendly relations between the two neighboring peoples, it was necessary to remove the troops from the abovementioned regions, allowing the dispossessed Moslems to return to their homes. To this end he proposed to open negotiations within the framework of the Brest-Litovsk and Batum Treaties.

Kiazim Pasha, in the same vein yet in a more threatening tone, had made his appeal to General Nazarbekian. The Government examined these protests, denied the alleged oppression and the lootings, and refused to open negotiations on the basis of the Brest-Litovsk Treaty. At that

time the ARF Supreme Board was acting as the government.

Minister of War Rouben Ter Minassian proposed to enter into negotiations with the Ankara Government but his proposal was rejected and it was decided that the Secretary of the Foreign Ministry should sign the reply letter, since, according to Foreign Minister H. Ohandjanian, it was dishonorable for the representative of a legal government officially to reply to the representatives of a rebel, non-legal government.

The Government of the Republic in a short time quieted the country, clearing the regions of Zangi-Basar, Vedi-Basar, Sharour and Karakoyl of rebellious and disloyal elements and successfully repelled the Bolshevik attacks in Ghazakh-Shamshatin and Zangezour. As far as the Government and the Parliament were concerned, no Turkish danger existed, or at least that danger was not imminent.

Georgian prisoner officers returning from Erzeroum told us that there were no troops in Erzeroum, that the Turkish Eastern Army was disintegrated, there was a shortage of supplies and clothings, and that the Greeks were marching triumphantly into the interior of Anatolia.

Such information bolstered the morale of the Governmental circles, enabling them to concentrate their attention on the north by fortifying the regions of Ghazakh and Zangezour. For this reason it was a severe shock to us when Sarikamish was suddenly occupied by the Turks in the beginning of September, 1920.

The Fourth Regiment which had been deemed an exemplary unit gave way and Sarikamish, with all its wealth, was lost to the enemy practically without a fight. At the same time the Turkish army occupied Merdenek and, to reinforce the front,

at our own command, we evacuated Kaghuivan.

The shower of telegrams from Kars was resumed. The military raised a hue and cry that they had to deal with the Turkish regular army. The Governor General insisted that the attackers were the mob under the leadership of Turkish Commissars and that a small force would suffice to expel them from the land. The intelligence of the Commander-in-chief and the War Minister was no better. There prevailed absolute lack of information, and confusion of mind in governmental circles. There were optimists and pessimists. And since we put little faith in the authorities supplied by the military chiefs, we were more inclined to believe the telegrams of Governor Ghorghanian.

One way or another, the enemy was on our soil, inside our country, and the Government was forced to resort to extraordinary measures. General Silikian was appointed Commander-in-chief of the Kars front and he departed for Alexandropol. The regiments of the north received orders to proceed post haste toward Kars and Artahan-Merdenek. The region of Ghazak was evacuated of the troops. A call to arms was proclaimed to all able bodied men within the age of 38. And the ammunition and supplies of Kanaker, Alexandropol and Eriwan was rushed to Kars.

On September 29 an emergency war council was held by the Government, with the participation of Generals Nazarbekian and Hakhverdian. Nazarbekian was of the opinion that, under pressure of the enemy, we would be forced to abandon Kars, reorganize our regiments, clothe and arm them and then cross swords with the foe. Hakhverdian supported Nazarbekian. The War Minister vigorously insisted that the loss of Kars would deprive us of the possibility of reorganizing and maintaining

a standing army in the field, and therefore, we had to hold on to Kars at all cost even if we were forced to keep 80 percent of our army at the gates of Kars. The other members of the Government supported this view and they hastened to the provinces to rally the people to the front. No one proposed to open negotiations with the Turkish command.

On October 2 Vratzian and I arrived at Kars. Our main forces were concentrated in the region of Ahmed; new forces were arriving from the various parts of Armenia. Meanwhile small skirmishes had taken places on the fronts of Sarikamish and Merdenek. As a result of a slight enemy attack on September 29 the fortress of Kars had nearly been evacuated.

The Commander of the front General Hovsepian, having observed the enemy movements toward Haram Vardan, had given an exaggerated report to General Piroomian, the Commander of Kars, whereupon the latter, having called an emergency session of the representatives of civil authorities and the members of the ARF Committee, had proposed to evacuate the city because the enemy would be at the gates of Kars within half an hour, and by a night attack, would cut off our retreat and would put the populace to the sword.

The city was in a panic. Many in their night clothes had taken to flight, giving way to lootings and disorder. Foremost among the fugitives were General Hovsepian's family and his brother with hundreds of his cows. And yet the night passed peacefully and there was no sign of the enemy. Only the following day the "misunderstanding" came to light, as General Piroomian put it. There was a trial but the guilty were not punished.

Apprised of the situation, we first wired the War Minister to remove General Hovsepian from the command of the Kars front

for the demoralizing effect of his panicky temperament among the army and for his failure to enjoy the confidence of his soldiers and officers.

Generalissimo Nazarbekian who answered our telegram pointed out to us that, in accordance with the directions of the War Minister, he deemed it impossible to make changes in the high command in the midst of the operations. It was our aim to put the command of the front in the hand of a reliable and conscientious officer and be rid of this maggot who during the past two years had been the crux of countless protests.

We also insisted that Commander-in-chief General Silikian be removed from Alexandropol and put in charge of Kars, leaving the commissariat and the organization of the reserves to other officers. This proposition, too, was rejected by the War Minister. We then appealed to Silikian himself to move to Kars but he too refused it, pleading that he had much work to do in Alexandropol, and that his removal to Kars would put General Piroomian who, paralyzed, already was nailed to his bed, into an embarrassing position.

When Generals Nazarbekian and Hakhverdian visited Kars we again repeated our demands but again we were refused. From the beginning the entire setting had been wrong. There was no unity of high command. The Kars front had two commanders: Hovsepian and Piroomian; the first presumably subordinate to the second but we never noticed it. General Piroomian was also Commander of the fortress of Kars.

The Merderek-Ardahan front commanded by Sebouh was in touch with Alexandropol, while it received its ammunition and food supplies from Kars. Silikian, on the other hand, was subject to Nazarbekian. In this manner, a command of four varying grades

had come into existence. The Russian stereotype was being literally applied to our army. As many generals, so many staffs and so much bureaucracy. Whereas, opposite us stood one will and one command — Kiazim Karabekir Pasha.

By the 14th of September on the Sarikamish front we had the following forces: the regiments 1, 4, 5 and 7, 2 battalions of the 8th regiment, the garrison battalions of Alexandropol and Kars, the engineering battalion and 800 cavalry under commanders. These were supplied with the necessary amount of cannon and machine guns.

On the Merdenek-Ardahan front we had one battalion of the 8th regiment, the garrison battalion of Eriwan, General Ghorghanian's force consisting of 600 cavalry and 800 infantry, the cavalry and infantry forces under Sumbat numbering approximately 800.

Fearing an encirclement of our left wing, as early as the beginning of October, several battalions from Alexandropol with two cannon under the command of Colonel Ghondoghchian crossed the Arpachay and moved toward Zurich, Tigor and Nakhitchevan. These, however, unable to withstand the assault of Kurdish irregulars, fled in panic, leaving behind their cannon. Five days later new reinforcements arrived, recovered the lost cannon and returned to Ani. Colonel Ghondoghchian was tried but went unpunished. He was appointed to a new post.

Along the Merdenek-Ardahan line our battalions were in command of all the highways, having secured their right wing against enemy attack. The Moslem populace of Kars and Ardahan behaved perfectly, giving no indication of any sympathy toward the Turks. In compliance with the Governor's orders all the Turkish villagers came out with their carts and contributed materially to the provisioning of our army.

Vratzian and I visited the Turkish populated region of Zarushat and verified their loyalty to our authorities. Throughout the duration of the war the Islam element of Kars loyally supported our cause.

Our forces were well provided with ammunition and supplies. The soldiers were well clad with newly-arrived uniforms. Few were the battalions which wore the old uniform and this came to an end in a few days. Armed with Russian and Canadian rifles, our regiments had ample supplies of ammunition. Our soldiers received white bread, meat, condensed milk, cocoa and preserves. Our artillery certainly was superior to the enemy's. Our only shortage was in machine guns. Our line of communication — railway and the highways — placed us in immediate contact with the rear, assuring us of all the necessary ammunition and supplies within days. We visited the front several times and we saw that the morale of our soldiers was very high.

All those who had visited the front shared the same opinion in regard to the morale of our army. The Armenian people responded willingly to the call of the Government and we even received large numbers of volunteers from Georgia. With such superiority, we thought we would be able to defeat the enemy and drive him off our land.

On October 14 our troops took the offensive. In accordance with a previously prepared plan, our right wing, operating from the impregnable fortifications of Haram-Vardan, was to pierce the enemy chain while the center and the right busied the enemy. At the success of the right wing the latter were to fall upon the enemy and would hurl him back into the gorge of Sarikamish.

The attack, which was to have started at sunrise, was delayed due to the carelessness

ness of the colonels and their staffs. The First Regiment took the offensive, but unable to stand the enemy's stiff resistance, was put to flight. Before the 7th regiment under Ishkhanian could come to their assistance, the enemy launched a counter-offensive and marched on Haram-Vardan,

The center, having presumed the success of the right wing, advanced along the highway of Sarikamish and reached the heights of Berna while the left wing succeeded in its mission of occupying the enemy's attention. General Hovsepian, clinging to the railway line and ignorant of the situation, could not issue timely orders and make new dispositions of his troops. Only in the evening he ordered his center to retreat and seize the heights of Begli-Ahmed. Our right wing, with difficulty and only after sustaining severe losses, was able to recapture the old positions and to restore the former battle front.

The battle of October 14, as seen, was a failure for us. One more effort, however, would have forced the enemy to retreat. By noon our scouting plane already had brought us the news that the enemy transport was headed toward Sarikamish

Our total casualties of that day on the entire front were 60-70 killed and about 500 wounded.

It is curious that, that evening, General Hovsepian could not report to the General Command the exact position of his units. It took some hours to determine the positions of the 1st, 4th and 7th regiments. During the day this general had failed to push the original plan by issuing new orders, obviously because he was incapable of handling such a large force. A few days before the battle, however, when there was talk of dividing the command of Sarikamish into two by giving the command of the right wing to Colonel Mirimanian, General Hovsepian had opposed it and

the Commander-in-chief had yielded to his demands.

Our unit in Merdenek took part in the battle of October 14, fully discharging its duties prescribed by the high command.

For a while there was a profound lull on the entire battle front and we used the opportunity to reinforce and rearrange our forces.

What was the size of the enemy force which opposed us? This question was clarified in a short while. Based upon Georgian and English sources we were able to verify that the Turkish force operating in the Province of Sarikamish consisted of the 9th and 12th Turkish division operated in the direction of Surmalu.

On the Merdenek front the enemy held a mixed division consisting of regulars and the Turks of Olti. Our military authorities tried to make us believe that the Turks had an additional division on the Sarikamish front, but that rumor proved wrong as seen later. The Turkish division scarcely had 2,500 bayonets. Therefore in the direction of Sarikamish there were 5,000 Turkish soldiers, in Merdenek, 2000, and on the Igdir front 1500-2,000, a total of 9 to 10 thousand, including the cavalry.

It also must be noted that the Turkish soldier was ill clad, often in rags. The commissariat, likewise, was inadequate. Later the Turkish soldiers were provided with new uniforms, taken from the supplies of our prisoners.

In the battle of October 14 and thereafter our regiment consisted of 1500 soldiers. Our force at Sarikamish consisted of the 1st, 4th, 5th and 7th regiments (a total of 6,000 bayonets), the two battalions of the 8th regiment (1,000), the garrisons of Kars and Alexandropol (1,000 foot and 600 horse), a total of 8,600, namely, twice the number of the Turkish force.

On the Merdenik front; a battalion of the

8th regiment (500), the garrison of Erivan (500), two cavalry regiments with their infantry (1,400) and Sumbat's volunteers (400), altogether 3,200, once again twice the number of the Turkish mixed division. On the Igdır front our forces were not inferior to the Turks.

The Situation in Kars

After our unsuccessful war of 1918 our military authorities for a long time did not know how to determine the status of the fortress (Kars). The High Command was divided into two schools of thought. Some, headed by chief of the artillery General Kamazian, were of the opinion that the fortress of Kars, now having lost its strategic importance, should be reduced to a supply center. In their opinion the defense of the fort required expensive measures, specialized officers and a standing garrison, while we, caught in perpetual wars, could not afford to expend our forces. The others, on the contrary, insisted that the fort should be fortified, in view of the perpetual Turkish menace.

Both sides, however, did nothing to realize their demands. The fort both existed and did not exist. There was a Commander of the fort, as well as a Commander of the artillery and a small number of officers, but there were not adapted to the positions, there was no connecting link between the fortifications. So that, when the war broke out, they were forced to take impromptu measures, created a garrison, increased the number of the officers and restored the intercommunications of the fortifications.

Incidentally, all these operations were performed exclusively by the efforts of Lieutenant Colonel Papachanof (Bulgarian), head of the artillery. General Piroomian who was Commander of the Fort had done nothing to fortify the fort and he even often spoiled the work by his needless interventions.

At the same time as Commander-in-chief of the front, General Piroomian concentrated his attention always on the establishment of a military dictatorship over the Province of Kars, and, naturally, the fort itself missed his attention. While paying no attention to the fort, General Piroomian would not resign from his command of the fort. The High Command, on the other hand, was always obliging to him.

In a very short while, however, Kars assumed a menacing aspect and the maneuvers of October 27, 28 and 29 proved that it was capable of resistance.

The struggle between the military and civil authorities to which we have referred was nothing new. As early as 1918 when Kars was recaptured General Hovsepian had demanded the concentration of the power in the hands of the military, subordinating the Governor-general to his authority. The Government paid no heed to this demand and appointed General Khorghanian, a capable officer who had had a long career among the Muslims, Governor General of the Province.

The fight over the power continued, however, and the frequent Moslem uprisings gave the generals a good excuse to raise a hue and cry in the prosecution of their demands. During the whole of its two and a half years existence the Government of the Republic could not put an end to this shameful controversy. There was not a month when the two "sides", directly or indirectly, did not press their complaints. The Governor complained that the lootings and the suppressions were incited by the military, that General Hovsepian and Col. Mazmanian sold thousands of heads of live stock to the Georgians, and that it was impossible for him to restore the order as long as the military kept up their depredations.

The generals, in turn, complained that

Khorghanian showed partiality to the Mohammedans and that the province will be pacified only when a single authority is established.

Time and again special commissions were sent to Kars to investigate the causes of the discontent and to find a remedy for it, but the generals and the Governor stayed in office to the end.

Driven by various considerations, the Government could not replace men with new personalities. The last Commission, consisting of General Silikian, Col. A. Shahmazian and Hovhannes Budaghian, presented a memorandum which was vague in its conclusions, had no positive recommendations, and proposed to keep the same men in their posts in the Province of Kars.

Another source of misfortune for us was the fact that civic and party organizations felt it their duty to intervene in our affairs, supporting one or the other of the rival sides. The members of the ARF Central Committee, on my visit to Erivan, took upon themselves to call the attention of the relevant Ministry to the distressing condition of the Province and constantly insisted alternately on the retention or removal of either the generals or Khorghanian. The main topic of discussion in the Central Committee's sessions was the condemnation of either the military or Khorghanian.

The representatives of the several ministries, likewise, inclined now to one and now to the other side, and they confused the ministers with their contradictory reports.

It was natural that, in a contest of this sort, the two camps were striving to increase the number of their partisans and to win over the influential figures. Even in the midst of the war the generals rebelled against the operations of Chorghanian, however, we managed to restrain the two

sides. This was the situation in Kars at the outset of the war.

Shaken by the constantly falling shower of blows, the people of Armenia supported the Government with all its power, both in its willing enlistment in the army and in its donation of the necessary supplies. There is a prevalent opinion, repeated to this day, that the cause of our defeat was the Armenian soldier's reluctance to fight against the Turk. The presumption is that, once scared by the Turk, he always sought the easy road to flight, and further, demoralized by Bolshevik infiltration, it was natural that he fell for the Bolshevik line and deserted the battle field. Our opponents also stressed the point that, disgusted by the intolerance of the Dashnak Government and the incompetence of the leaders, the Armenian people did not exert the necessary effort to expel the enemy from our land.

Were these charges true? It cannot be denied that the Armenian soldier time and again deserted the battle field but that fact cannot explain the reason for his refusal to fight. In the battle of October 14, within the brief span of a few hours, our troops suffered more than 50 casualties in killed and wounded. Our people not only did not refuse its support to the Government, but refilled the depleted ranks with fresh companies of volunteer recruits. It restored the regularity of the railway. Thousands of carts were supplied by the villagers for the provisioning of the army over a long period of time. The entire Armenian people realized well the disastrous enormity of the Turkish invasion and its unquestioned consequences. It was plain to all that the minute the Turk set foot on Armenia he would spare neither woman nor child. That was the reason why the call to arms was met with such a spontaneous response in all the provinces, and

that our battalions were replenished with ever arriving companies of volunteer recruits without the necessity of stern measures.

Another prevalent opinion is, the cause of our failure was the fact that our depleted ranks were filled with new conscripts without the necessary military discipline, and that the officers were not familiar with their soldiers and hence they were unable to lead them into battle.

It was also said that the volunteers from Georgia, as well as the timid soldiers from the region of Alexandropol, brought demoralization to the soldiers who yielded to the enemy without resistance.

I feel constrained to state that none of these opinions had any basis in fact. As we have stated above, the greater part of the Armenian soldiery were well trained because they had been incessantly fighting ever since 1914; secondly, the enemy who opposed us likewise consisted of new conscripts, and if our officers were not well acquainted with their companies, it was not the fault of the soldier.

After the fall of Sarikamish our first serious clash with the enemy was on the 14th of October. After that we had plenty of time to reorganize our regiments. To be sure, the Bolshevik propaganda was at work in the army, but those of us who were closely acquainted with the temper of our troops saw no tangible results of that propaganda. After the May uprising, the Bolshevik movement was discredited both among the people and the army.

The Armenian soldier wanted to fight and he shed plenty of blood in the defense of the fatherland, but his leaders proved to be incompetent and unconscientious.

After the evacuation of Sarikamish in the face of negligible enemy forces, our high command withdrew the soldiers with some stupid arrangements. That retreat

was not executed under enemy pressure. Three times, at the insistence of General Hovsepian, they withdrew our army from its positions under the pretext of "strategic retreat." Three times we protested against those dispositions and each time we were told the new positions were stronger and better suited for defense.

The soldier, never having met the enemy for three months, always on the retreat, naturally would become demoralized, he would be depressed, would form an exaggerated opinion of the enemy's prowess, while the enemy would take heart and steadily would become more self-confident.

According to another view, our soldier, equipped with new rifles, had no time to get used to his weapon and that was the reason of our defeat. This theory, too, is wrong.

There were regiments which were armed with Russian rifles, such as the 4th and 8th regiments, and few were not those who carried the Lebel rifle. As to the new Canadian rifle, these had been distributed two to three weeks before the disastrous fights, so that there was plenty of time to show the soldier its mechanism. Besides, the Armenian soldier did not engage in entrenched fights; he saw the enemy only on October 14 and on the day of Kars' fall. Until then we had even difficulty seeing the Turkish cavalrymen with our field glasses and our exchange of bullets never reached the two sides.

I cannot say that there was no desertion in our army, but that disease never reached serious proportions. The citizens of Kars had seized all the roads and they stopped all the deserters. I feel constrained to mention here that all the citizens of Kars, with a touching zeal, submitted to the orders of the military authorities and they all were armed. I never saw any sign of desertion or panic in the proximity of the battle line. In short, I am convinced that the Ar-

menian people spared no effort to defeat the enemy.

On October 24 and 25 there were rumors in Kars that the enemy was maneuvering to encircle our left wing, having seized the heights of Yakni and Vezinkeoy. The news was immediately communicated to General Piroomian who was pinned in his sick bed, with a request that he give the necessary orders to General Hovsepian. General Piroomian ordered Hovsepian in our presence to turn his attention on the left wing and to send scouts to Vezinkeoy.

Toward evening General Hovsepian reported that no enemy had been sighted on the left wing and that all was well, based upon a report of the reconnoitering company under commander Keniaz. Later it became known that Keniaz had not taken the trouble of scouting the whole distance, had wheeled about at the half way and brought his reassuring report.

The rumors persisted, however, with greater intensity on October 26. We again urged Gen. Piroomian to send a new scouting party to investigate the situation. Advised of this, General Hovsepian pleaded that he could not send his officers on the scouting party because he had no available horses, something which was not true.

Meanwhile, on October 24 the Turks cautiously mobilized their units and on October 27, having occupied the heights of Vezinkeoy, and the Khalfalu and Dashkovo villages, as well as the heights of the major and minor Yaknis, attacked the Station of Mazra. The natives of Mazra succeeded in repelling the enemy but the railway communication line with Alexandropol was definitely stopped. Only our armored train, after a daring battle, pierced the enemy chain and reached Alexandropol. The telegraphic line with Eriwan was likewise cut off. Actually, Kars was in a state of siege.

On October 26-27 some of our units

attempted to recapture the Yaknis, but after an unsuccessful fight they were forced to retreat. During those days our army went through a new organization. The left wing being seriously threatened, the 5th Regiment abandoned its fortified positions at Aghbaba and withdrew to the fortifications to the right of Karachai — the bastions of the railway, the south and Lazarev. The 4th Regiment retreated from the heights of Begli Ahmed and having entered the city, took the road to the Village of Prokhlatnoye; the 7th Regiment, together with the 1st Regiment and the garrison battalions of Kars, as well as the two battalions of the 8th Regiment, camped at the base of Vezinkeoy and the Yaknis. Abandoned also were the impregnable fortifications of Haram-Vardan. Along the Sarikamish line the enemy would have to deal now with our artillery.

The city was completely at ease.

Our division at Merdenik-Ardahan received orders to retreat and make sure of the Kars-Alexandropol highway in case of a reverse.

Thus, without a fight and without any casualties all of our fortified positions were abandoned, placing Kars in immediate danger.

At that time Gen. Hovsepian was replaced by General Ghazarian who, during the operations, assumed the most responsible post. Such was the belated arrangement of Eriwan. General Hovsepian was very happy to move to the rear, feeling himself more secure at the Troitskoye Village where he established his headquarters.

It was strange that Eriwan waited so long in intervening about the command of the front and replaced the cowardly Hovsepian only at the last moment, saving his skin, as it were, from imminent danger, because the hapless Ghazarian two days later fell prisoner together with his staff.

On October 29 our central staff had a plan of taking the offensive, to recapture the heights of Vezinkeoy and the Yaknis at all cost. The execution of the plan was postponed, however, due to a copious rainfall and because the troops were too tired. The offensive was postponed to the following day. The same day, in the evening, unable to stand the shameful situation longer, Colonel Mazmanian committed suicide. Col. Mazmanian was the commander of the First Regiment. He was a brave patriotic officer despite his faults and his lack of ability for organization. Reckless of his life, he had often run personal risks in battle and had survived only by a miracle. A subordinate of General Hovsepian and a subject of his bad influence, he had taken part in the lootings in Kars and had often indulged in conduct unworthy of his rank for the benefit of his master. But he never shirked danger and he was always on the front line in battle. He could no longer stand the perpetual and stupid retreats of two months and put an end to his life.

On October 30, in the morning, the city was silently waiting. By ten o'clock all was quiet. We received word that the garrison battalion of Alexandropol (a reserve force) had taken flight along the road to Mazra. An order was issued to replace them with another battalion. At 10:30 we quietly passed through the city and reached the Fort of Lazarev. A brisk machine gun fire was visible in the direction of the southern and railroad forts. The suburb of the railroad station was in great excitement. After inspecting the fort for a quarter hour we returned to the city which we found in utter confusion.

Our soldiers were in full flight, the populace of the city, panic-stricken, was milling along the road to the gorge, the volunteer cavalrymen, headed by their company commanders, were in the front ranks of the

fugitives. The fort was shrouded in an ominous silence, scarcely a scattered few shells were fired from the bastions. The bastion of Fadiyev-Karatak which commanded the entire battlefield, possessing a battery of 26 cannon, scarcely fired six shells. It could easily have stopped the enemy advance and allowed the people to evacuate the city in safety.

The Turks were advancing in swarms. All our regiments took to flight. The 5th Regiment entered the city, and although it had orders to seize the fortifications at Karatak, instead it took the road to the gorge and was taken prisoner to the last man. By 12 o'clock Kars was in the hands of the enemy.

Until late in the evening a single Turkish regiment, supported by a Kurdish cavalry force, held the city captive. There was no resistance, there were no casualties, either in killed or wounded. The Turks had only five wounded.

There broke out now an unspeakable wholesale slaughter and pillage of the city. Many officers fell prisoner, including three generals and one cabinet minister. Many of the civilians were shot at the gorge. Children lost their mothers and passions came to the fore in all their ugliness. All were stunned, the Armenian band, spic and span, stood frozen on the spot. A cavalry company, holding the reins of their horses, was rooted to the ground until evening when they surrendered themselves, their uniforms and horses to the enemy. Chief of Staff Chilinkarian committed suicide. We lost Kars, and together with it, our independence and our fatherland.

We notified the Government in regard to the critical events in Kars on October 27, 28 and 29. Two days before the fall of the city the War Minister informed us by radio that the battalions of the 2nd Regiment were hastening to our aid. Colonel

Ghorganian with new battalions was likewise to come to the aid from Alexandropol and would attack from the rear of Vezinkeyoy. Neither the one nor the other, however, were able to arrive in time.

The Commander-in-chief General Silikian remained in Alexandropol to the end and was never in touch with the front; Colonel Vekilian did all the directing of the front.

Ervan, no doubt, was following closely the events in Kars, but, in my opinion, they were too absorbed at the time with their negotiations with the Bolshevik representative Legran. There is no question that nothing could have saved the situation. In one or two days not even a superhuman effort could have saved Kars.

By October 27 it was quite plain we would lose in the end, but who could have imagined that in one hour it would be all over. That was the reason why the people of the city kept up its morale and did not go to pieces. On the contrary, it was our military units which cast the first alarm and dragged behind them the civilian population of the city.

On October 29 General Piroomian and Colonel Vekilian had decided to move the staff to Mazra, but that never took place, thanks to my interposition. The removal of the staff would have precipitated the panic both among the soldiers and the people and later would certainly have been blamed as the cause of the fall of Kars.

Why was not the city evacuated in time? In my opinion that was impossible. Since the battle line was too close, such a step would have precipitated a panic among the soldiers. Proof of this is the panic of September 29 when many officers and soldiers, to help evacuate their families, deserted the front.

Who Started the War

Lacking sufficient material with which to examine the causes of the war, I shall content myself with a few general observations on this question. Who started the war? It is difficult to give an objective answer to this question. We started the war, because we strove to occupy the entire Olti region in our effort to reach the Black Sea as the base of our salvation. It was we, because we wanted to occupy Bartous without which we could not enter Basen. We, because we were preparing to concentrate forces in Kars, with the intention of enforcing the Sevres Treaty with our own powers. We, because at the outbreak of the war we made no effort to negotiate with the enemy to stop their advance. It seemed as if we were happy for an opportunity to cross swords with the enemy.

The Turks started the war because they were the first aggressors. We had not trespassed the boundary of 1914. For months the Turks were zealously at work with their preparations on the frontier, organizing and drilling their units.

Before advancing on Armenia Kiazim Karabekir Pasha had a quarrel with Mustafa Kemal, demanding to capture Kars and to disarm Armenia which had just received a rich supply of arms and ammunition. Kemal, who had been retreating before the Greek army, insisted on sending the divisions in and around Erzeroum to Ankara, while Kiazim who was relying on the public elements of Erzeroum and Trebizond categorically refused and insisted on his demand to invade Armenia and remove the danger from the rear. While Kemal ordered "leave Armenia alone," Kiazim demanded war to remove the permanent menace.

Later it was made plain to me beyond the shadow of a doubt that it was Kemal's

intention to disarm Armenia. The so-called repressions of the Turkish population on the part of our soldiers was a mere pretext for the Turkish Pasha's, and never the true cause of the war.

As matters stood, we might say both sides were preparing and were looking for a pretext for the war. The difference is, we wanted to delay the actual outbreak of the war until spring, while the Turks rushed it, sensing no doubt our intentions.

Few were not the high ranking officers of the Turkish staff who, with a successful outcome of the war, hoped to join ranks with Soviet Russia against British interests in the east. To them, it was imperative to put the Turkish army in immediate contact with the Soviet, and then there were fantastic plans about invading the Mosul and Afghanistan.

The prevalent opinion or mood was, however, that an independent, although emasculated Armenia should be preserved as a harmless buffer.

An agreement which had been arrived at with difficulty and the superiority of our army suggested to the Turkish staff to be exceedingly cautious. It took two months to move the Turkish army from Sarikamish to the gates of Kars, not because the Armenian army put up a stiff resistance or because of time consuming trench fighting, but because the Turkish command had a high regard for the strength of our army. It had to be careful and patient in dealing with an army which had made a name in the Transcaucasus, well armed, well provisioned, and superior in numbers.

After our defeat of October 14 we still saw our enemy immobile until the 24th, a waiting period in which we could have taken the offensive.

Could the War Have Been Avoided?

Could the war have been avoided if

we had shown any sign of interest toward Turkey and if, in response to the proposal of Bekir Sami Bey, we had negotiated with Ankara, and with certain concessions, insure the safety of our frontier until at least the spring?

I will answer this question by saying, Yes, there would have been no war had we shown any definite desire to negotiate with the Turks. The postponement of the war would have proved our salvation because the winter was near and the enemy would have had a difficult time in making headway in the Province of Kars in the cold season. I will go further and say that, during the war, had we started to negotiate with the enemy, there would have been much hope to save our situation.

We have stated above that Ankara had no intention of making war on Armenia and that it was upon the insistence of Kiazim Pasha that the invasion was launched. Immediately upon the outbreak of the war, an influential Turkish Pasha was sent to Trebizond with the hope that our representative Alexander Khatissian would condescend to see him. Khatissian having no such powers, however, a meeting between the two did not take place.

The Turkish High Command had concentrated all its forces at the front, leaving behind in Erzeroum a single regiment and a like force in Khorasan. There was not a single Turkish soldier in the Turkish Armenian provinces.

The Attitude of Our Neighbors

What was the attitude of our neighbors — Georgia and Azerbaijan — toward our Government? As early as the Bolshevik uprising in May and later in August our Government expressed the wish to conclude a military pact with Georgia. It was our aim to create an anti-Bolshevik united front in the Transcaucasus, and since the Azerbaijani Government had voluntarily sur-

rendered to the Bolsheviks, the only people with whom we could cooperate were the Georgians. Our repeated appeals in this respect were refused by Georgia.

Our neighbors insisted on the necessity of a diplomatic united front to operate in Europe, hoping to bring about the de-jure recognition of Georgia by the European Powers. This, naturally, was not our aim, for the de-jure recognition of Georgia would not alter the international situation in putting an end to the Bolshevik aggression. We knew that the Bolshevik Government (the Soviet) definitely planned to take over both Georgia and Armenia. Besides, by arriving at an understanding with the Georgians, we would be able to isolate the Government of Ankara and we further knew that at the National (Turkish) Congress in Sivaz there had been a Georgian delegate.

Our chief aim was to insure the safety of our northern frontier through a close cooperation with Georgia. I do not know, dictated by what motives, the Georgian Government refused to respond to our proposal.

During the course of the Armeno-Turkish war it became plain to us that the Georgians, in keeping with their old custom, had come to a secret understanding with the Turks and our War Minister, in a trip to Tiflis, had been forced to warn the Georgians not to embark on any foolish adventure by aiding the Turks. A second attempt was made for an Armeno-Georgian understanding, but again to no avail.

On the contrary, after our unsuccessful encounter of October 14th, a Georgian military unit crossed to Zurzuna from Akhalkalak and hoisted the Georgian flag over our Commissariat. At the order of Gen. Silikian units of our 8th Regiment entered Zurzuna, hauled down the Georgian flag, and drove the Georgians back to their

frontiers, something which caused a great furore at the time in Tiflis.

After the occupation of Ardahan, a small unit of our army was forced to seek asylum in Georgia where it was disarmed and returned to Alexandropol. After the fall of Kars, Georgian officers appeared in the city and spread the rumor that the question of the division of the newly-conquered Armenian territory would be considered between the representatives of Kiazim Pasha the Georgian Premier Jordania. Needless to say the Turks were not so foolish as to concede anything to the Georgians.

Turco-Soviet Collusion

The Soviet authorities were attentively following the course of our struggle, meanwhile concentrating their troops in the region of Kazak. Legran came to Armenia to study the situation on the spot and to trap our Government.

Without a doubt the Turks were acting in consultation with the Bolsheviks. It was plain that Kiazim Pasha would not have invaded Armenia without the assent of the Soviet Central Government.

In August our representatives submitted an official memorandum to Legran in regard to the Turco-Soviet military convention. The Russian delegate categorically denied it is but it was a fact that a secret treaty abt Armenia signed in Trebizond existed.

The Soviet Government could easily have stopped the Turkish invasion, but to do so would have caused the Third International to suffer. "Even if the entire Armenian people were trampled under, the organized Islam power of the East would remain friendly to Soviet Russia." This was the statement of Bolshevik Ashot Hovhannesian at the outbreak of the war.

The eastern policy of Soviet Russia demanded that the aspirations of friendly

Turkey should be satisfied. The Armenian people, on the other hand, was not a real power for the realization of the grandiose eastern plans. Armenia had to be sacrificed.

Later events conclusively proved that Ankara was acting with Moscow's approval. The Bolshevik army, taking advantage of our defeat, invaded our country and destroyed the edifice of our Independence which we had built with such a great sacrifice.

England And Armenia

Of the Allied Powers England was the only one which was interested most about the independence of Armenia. It will take us too far to recount all the deeds of that great government for Armenia. We cannot deny that England helped us militarily and diplomatically. But this aid came too late to save us.

At the outset of our independence the English representatives in the Caucasus were not friendly to our republic, as witness the disputes over Lori and Karabagh. They were also opposed to the suppression of our internal rebellious elements. Worthrop, who caused us a great deal of harm, with his biased reports, reprimanded us on frequent occasions in regard to our internal policy. The English representatives distrusted our Government, looking upon it as pro-Russian. It was only after the May Bolshevik uprising in Armenia that they became convinced that we knew how to shed our blood for the sake of our independence and changed their attitude toward us.

It was only after this — our repeated appeals and entreaties of two years went for nothing — that we were able to obtain from the British Government 40,000 uniforms and necessary ammunition.

During the events in Kars the British representative Stokes came to Erivan and

Kars and warned us not to expect any aid from the Allies. On the other hand, when we were being defeated, Avetis Aharonian received a telegram warning us not to cross the 1914 boundary.

Our representatives in Paris never informed us in regard to Kemal's strength and plans. Nor did they show any disposition to negotiate with the Kemalists.

Our Soldiers

From the first day to the last of our independence the object of our supreme concern and affection was our army. I who took part in the labors of the military Commission created by the Parliament and the Council do not recall a single instance when the demands of the War Ministry and its subordinate agencies were refused. The largest share of our national budget was allocated for the army. The officers were rewarded best of all. A part of the flour, the milk and the clothing for the refugees was assigned to the soldier. The Government looked first after the welfare of the soldier and then the people.

It was the constant concern of both the Parliament and the Party, especially in the later stages, to nationalize the army. It is a simple truth that a newly-created state can best prosper and feel safe when supported by a well organized and dedicated army.

During the first period of our independence our aspirations and our political aims were indeed vaguely defined. For many of us, this was a mere temporary interregnum for the Armenian people. We thought Bolshevik Russia a transitory phenomenon, would soon give way before a powerful democratic Russia, and relying on that great power, the Armenian people would emerge safely from its peril. That was the reason why, in the initial stages, the Parliament and the Government did not resort

to decisive measures to stave off the Russophile movement.

One of the assets which we inherited from Russia were the Armenian officers who had been trained in Russian schools. It was natural that the Government would make use of this asset for the defense of the fatherland. We could not have trained a new officers corps within the short span of a few months. The head of the Armenian people was spinning and we needed officers for immediate use to restrain our internal and external foes. To this end all the prominent military was invited to serve the fatherland. Armenians in name only, the greater part of them were men of the Tsarist regime, unfamiliar with our life and ignorant of our language. Many of them were good Armenians but not good patriots. A part of them, having been persecuted by the Bolsheviks, were mercenaries, alien to the longings and the needs of the Armenian people. This was the stuff to which the defense of our fatherland was entrusted.

It is no secret that many of the high ranking commanders dreamed of the time when the Russian army would enter Armenia, and in the days of Denikin, they openly professed that the Armenian army was a division of the Russian volunteer army.

The Government could not reorganize our army on a national basis. It could not because our High Command and the staff were in the hands of men of the Russian orientation. Generals Nazarbekian, Silikian, Hakhverdian, Hovsepian and others had a dubious allegiance to our Independence. Many of them were very good Armenians but they regarded the Independent Armenia as a temporary phenomenon which would soon disappear under the Russian influence.

Often graduates of Armenian national schools with officer's rank were denied a position, the objection being that men who have studied in Armenian schools do not make good officers. And they always pushed to the fore mercenaries who were unfamiliar with our country and alien to our aspirations. On the Kars front, our fate in large part was in the hands of such men. What did General Hovsepian care that with the loss of Kars we would lose the independence of our people? Meriting the Medal of the Red Star meant more to him than to exert himself for the Dashnak Government. And when, after the fall of Kars, War Minister Rouben Ter Minasian had him arrested, his successor Dro released him from his prison and sent him to Lori to organize the peasants and to march on Tiflis. The same was true of Col. Mirimanian and many others.

The looting played no small part in the demoralization of the soldier. The Armenian soldier saw how his high ranking officers were battening themselves with the loot taken from Turkish peasants in the region of Kars. In contrast, the commanders of the Turkish division, (I am not speaking of lower officers), Khalit and Osman Nuri Beys, chief of staff Kiazim Bey, side by side with the soldier and facing the fire, closed ranks and advanced on our positions. Meanwhile our regimental commanders, many of them having deserted their regiments, were looking for a chance to save their skin. While Kiazim Karabekir with his staff, in the open field, was watching the movements of our troops, our staff, cooped up in the gorge, could see the skies only through a chink.

Another cause of our defeat was the adoption of the Russian stereotype. Our High Command never came around to adapting itself to the peculiarities of our country and people.

For two and half years we had an independent Armenia, we made heavy sacrifices to live independently. We exerted great efforts to become a state, to rally our people in one place. But, under the relentless blows of our enemies, we lost our inde-

pendence. We committed many errors, we were too soft and we suffered seriously for our mistakes

Would that these mistakes taught us a lesson for the future.

Two Poems

AUTUMN MOTHS

The melancholy sounds begin at night:
The autumn moths against a knife of light,
The scrape like talons on the garbage pail,
The staccato hoot, the thin wane wail
Of wild life out defying chill
When their hunter's home from his red hill.

WHO TENDS THESE FIELDS

(Reprinted from the *New York Times*)
Who tends these fields, so green, so wet
Green as the day they grew
Yesterday's acres fragrant yet?
Conscience says, I do.

I do, for the sake of the furrows I sowed
But more for the ones I forgot.
I reap and sow them over again
With the bittergreen seeds of regret.

I do, says Mind, for the exercise,
Searching the why and the how.
I do says Love, for my sake alone,
For love needs fields to plow.

DIANA DER HOVANESSIAN

I FEEL FAMILIAR WITH THEM

HAGOP TOPOUZIAN

I would like to lean against a stricken tree and listen to the quiet rain.

To cross under time's heavy burden-bent bridges.

To watch faded flowers and sad faces.

To watch little birds in tight cages, and precipitations of eagles into damp depths.

I would like to see smashed boots left in an inglorious bay after fate has drawn their mistress burdens like treasures of beauty and joy.

To stand on the worn threshold of emptied and bitterly bent houses.

To be with gravely shimmering lamps that go off like ended hopes.

To pass by from the back streets of great cities and watch their striving and badly dressed people.

I would like to take upon my knees the broken neck of a gentle horse — fallen from the high rocks — and cry for him louder than any other cry ever known for any over-thrown empire.

I would like to walk in the dim light of the moon upon deep and hard snows, at the

same time hearing cracks under my steps as the one who, while led by a dim hope, he hears the crackings of his hard feeling under his heavy worries.

I would like to be by the death beds of beloved ones and meet their last heart-rending smiles as the last sunsets of love over their ruined but still dear faces.

I would like to pass by cemeteries and read their unwritten signs of vanity.

I would like to be found on that unforgettable ground while watching the silent rendezvous of modest violets, sunrays and dewdrops where my infinitely humble beloved for the last time did throw her arms around my neck and shed tears of immortal farewell. Where so deeply depressed, I foresaw her innocent death and the sun with its universal light there seemed a neutralized happiness, and the deep ringings of remote bells in my hearing were like unbearable sounds of perpetual losses. .

I would like to lay my hand on a broken harp and play a melancholy melody —

For I feel familiar with them.

MAPPING OUT ECONOMIC REGIONS IN SOVIET ARMENIA

LEVON MIKIRTITCHIAN

The Background

Efforts made in the Soviet Union during 1957 to reorganize the administration of industry created a new situation, especially in the union republics. As is well known, all the republics of the Soviet Union, with the exception of the RSFSR, the Ukraine and Kazakhstan, were declared to be autonomous economic regions, for the administration of which economic councils or sovnarkhozes were formed.

In the Soviet Union these efforts are interpreted as an attempt, not only to bring about a radical reform in economic administration, but also to increase the economic autonomy of individual republics, in strict compliance, it is said, with Lenin's principles governing the nationalities policy. If, however, the history of decentralization under the Soviet regime is examined, it will be seen that the economic interests of individual republics have always been subordinated to those of the centrally planned economy of the Soviet Union as a whole.

In Russia, the necessity for decentralization was stressed, chiefly by Lenin himself, as early as the period of the Civil War. This was, of course, a result of the new political situation created there and does not come within the scope of this article. It interests us only insofar as it has a bearing on the fate of the national republics in general and on that of Armenia in particular. The question of decentralization, however, assumed great importance in the twenties. A start was made by the famous plan for the electrification of Russia, known

as GOELRO (State Commission for the Electrification of Russia), which was designed to be spread over a period of ten to fifteen years. Thereafter, the commission attached to Gosplan and presided over by I. G. Aleksandrov (1921) and the commission attached to the All-Russian Central Executive Committee and presided over by M. I. Kalinin (1922) elaborated the principles which were to govern the policy of decentralization and the methods which were to be employed.

The reports of these commissions stressed the essentially economic nature of decentralization and were contemptuous of the idea of allowing any functions to be exercised on a national republic basis. However, in view of the poor and disorganized condition, at that time, of power and transport — two factors of primary importance for economic development — the right to exercise a certain amount of initiative was conceded to local bodies, independently of whether they were national or not. These rights were respected only up to the thirties and then only partially. Thus, the preamble to the GOELRO plan stated:

In view of the nature of the project, the drawing up of an economic plan for a region should be the task of the region itself, since this requires a thorough knowledge of local conditions and the active participation of the population, which without the drawing up and the execution of the plan would be very difficult. On the basis of such regional plans, it would be comparatively easy to elaborate a general scheme for rational cooperation between the regions and to draw up

the state plan for electrification in relation to other measures which are essential for a maximum economy of the labor forces of the country and for the full exploitation of the natural resources of the various regions.¹

Later on, general principles for splitting the whole country into economic regions were drawn up. Suggestions for doing this along statistical lines, with reference to the economic possibilities of the centers and with an eye to available transport facilities were rejected and the principle of power decentralization was adopted as being more in line with the revolutionary period.

The general principle of administrative decentralization was developed on this basis. Thus, in the report on "the basic principles in determining the administrative boundaries of economic regions," delivered at the second session of the Eighth Congress of the All-Russian Central Executive Committee, the following factors were laid down as of importance in any discussion of administrative decentralization: Centralization of technical development; division of the territory into regions in accordance with the relationship of the population with the centers of production and distribution; available means of communication such as railways, highways, waterways, etc.; the size of the population; the ethnic composition of the population.²

In this way, the principles governing the administrative and economic decentralization of the RSFSR became compulsory for all the republics of the USSR. It is interesting to note that even before the USSR had been officially proclaimed and Armenia, together with a number of other republics, was still a nominally independent state, decentralizing was being carried out in the name of the RSFSR, but in every instance the Caucasus as a whole was taken to constitute a single economic region with its center at Vladikavkaz. Later on, after the official proclamation of the USSR, the same

¹ Voprosy ekonomicheskogo raionirovaniya SSSR: Sbornik materialov i statei (1917—29) (Problems of Forming Economic Regions in the USSR: Documents and Articles, (1917—29), Moscow, 1957, pp. 9—10.

² Ibid., p. 59.

method of division was applied, but it was called an economic region of the USSR.

After GOELRO, a long-range plan for the economic development of the USSR to cover the period 1943—57 was elaborated; apart from incidental modifications, this plan was basically a continuation of the previous methods of decentralization. But in 1957, this method of decentralization broke down. Simultaneously with GOELRO, administrative decentralization was gradually implemented in different parts of the Soviet Union and finally completed in Transcaucasia and Armenia in 1960. More recently, attempts were made to introduce changes by forming new districts but were soon abandoned. So that, although the question of introducing basic changes in administrative decentralization does not arise in Armenia at the present time (since there is no question of this on an all-union scale), nevertheless, the developments of matters connected with economic decentralization and the search for fresh openings assume a primary importance.

It is not the purpose of this article to examine the conditions under which Armenia was placed during the previous regime of decentralization. Our starting point is the replacement of the concept of "basic economic region" by the concept of "administrative economic region," which implies not only an economic but a legal status. In this connection, Armenia has become a separate economic unit in the economic set-up of the USSR. This circumstance has made it necessary to carry out a redistribution of the internal productive forces of the country with an eye to specialization, complex development to suit the economy and improved cooperation between the various branches.

Studies devoted to the problem of mapping out new economic regions under the new conditions have been appearing in learned periodicals in Armenia in recent years. Those that are published are noteworthy, as they are written by competent and serious specialists and give a more or less true picture of prevailing conditions.

The fact that Armenia, together with other union republics, is henceforth to constitute a basic unit within the USSR, is generally welcome. However, with the prac-

tical aim of regulating supply and demand, it is deemed advisable to form general or branch groups, that is to say larger economic districts out of small economic districts. Particular mention is made of the prospect of an economic cooperation within the Caucasus.

Simultaneously, it is considered essential to subdivide the republic itself into separate economic regions. To illustrate the measures proposed to carry out this subdivision, we quote from an article by S. Khrimlian who is a specialist in this field.

The economic decentralization of each territory involves complex factors and is based on the natural and economic conditions characteristic of the given territory.

The implementation of decentralization must be closely linked with the regional organization of natural resources; this, in essence, means dividing the country into regions along economic and geographical lines. This is especially obvious in regions noted for their complex geological structure; here, natural conditions are almost entirely determined by the direction of the mountain ranges, which form a number of geological regions, which in turn constitute natural economic regions with particular characteristics. The determining factor in mapping out economic regions is industry; next in importance comes agriculture, which is to a greater or lesser degree connected with industry; then comes transport, which serves both industry and agriculture. This does not mean, however, that, in forming economic regions, agriculture and transport cannot, in certain cases, play a role of primary importance.

Thus, the problem of creating economic regions does not only affect separate branches, but the whole economy.³

So much for the general situation. It is important to realize that, although a decisive place is given to the present state of industry and to the possibilities of its expansion — factors which are naturally subject to constant change — nevertheless, especially under the conditions prevailing in

Armenia, the variety of soils and its effect on agriculture constitute permanent factors. The present state of the agricultural regions of Armenia and potential improvements in their productive capacity occupy an important place in the studies currently being made by the scientific institutions concerned. Therefore, before passing on to the question of complex economic regions, we will deal with the present state of the plan for the formation of agricultural regions and for the reforms which it is proposed to introduce into the agricultural economy.

The Plan for Agricultural Reorganization

Long before it was decided to reorganize the administration of industry, a campaign was launched throughout the Soviet Union for the implementation of an "extensive plan for marked progress" in all branches of agriculture. Faced with a disastrous decline in agricultural production, the Twentieth Party Congress demanded "ample provision of foodstuffs for the population and the production of raw materials for light industry." Investigations were also made in the Armenian SSR and a number of practical measures adopted.

A concerted effort was made by various branches of the Academy of Sciences of the Armenian SSR to study the problems involved.

Beginning in 1955, the Department of Agricultural Research of the Academy (A. M. Maroukhanian, S. Khrimlian, A. Bagdasarian, A. Badalian, D. Kardjikian, V. Malkhassian) devoted itself exclusively to the question of "agricultural specialization and regional allotments in the Armenian SSR." Following a decision of the Academy presidium, the Agricultural and Biological Institutes of the Academy, the Research Institutes of the Ministries of Agriculture and Water Resources, and corresponding departments in the higher institutes of education, focused their attention on the same question. The Economic Institute of the Academy (S. Khrimlian, A. Maroukhanian, O. Kardjikian, A. Kotcharian, A. Badalian, V. Zatikian) had been working on the same problem for four or five years before the Twentieth Party Congress was held. The

³ S. Khrimlian, "Tentessakan Sherchanatsman yev Haykakan SSR Tentessakan Hartsi Shourche" (On Economic Decentralization and the Economic Problems of the Armenian SSR), *Tegbəgakir*, Academy of Sciences of the Armenian SSR, Erevan, 1957, No. 8, pp. 41—43.

results of these endeavors were presented in the report delivered to a session of the Social Affairs Section of the Academy of Sciences which was held on March 7, 1956; it was published in the Academy's *Teghe-kagir* (1956, No. 4). Later on, a lengthy article, in the form of a discussion, was published in the monthly *Leninian Oughiov* (1957, Nos. 9 and 10, Erevan).

The suggested plan is devised to be completed in two stages, the first in 1960 and the second in 1970. For the allotment of agricultural regions and for agricultural specialization over the whole extent of the republic, it is extremely important to have a clear idea about the various agricultural zones of Armenia. A considerable number of studies of this subject have been made in the past and are now being made. A certain amount of reclassification is always possible, but the distribution of regions is evidently governed by the great variety of natural climatic conditions in Armenia, which is due to the mountainous nature of the country and determines the nature of farming in any particular locality and the extent of the profits it can be expected to yield. In other words, over a comparatively small area it is possible to meet a very large variety of natural factors predetermining what can and cannot be grown thus making it difficult to divide the country into zones specialized in particular products. Consequently, after detailed calculations and study, each region was divided into sub-regions or "micro-regions," as they were called.

Soviet Armenia is divided into nine agricultural regions: the Ararat plateau; the foothills of the Ararat region; the mountainous part of the Ararat region; the Sevan basin; Shirak; Lori-Pambak; the forest region of the northeast; Daralagyaz; Zangezur.

According to the plan, complex production and specialization in more than one branch of agriculture would constitute the basis of agricultural development, and consequently the work of the regional committees appointed by the Council of Ministers for implementing specialization and regional allotments was carried out on these lines.

The plan aims at the "creation of a highly profitable economy," based on a rational utilization of existing possibilities and on the discovery of new sources of agricultural productivity. It is evident that the creation of a "socialist agricultural economy" and its eventual development are the main considerations. The interests of the state, and not those of the producers, are the main factors influencing the course of action. There are now 49 sovkhozes, 864 kolkhozes and 52 machine-and-tractor stations in Armenia and it is to direct the work of these and other sources of productivity yet to be created that the plan is being devised.

The need for devising such an extensive plan for the reorganization of agriculture is obvious from the following quotation taken from an article which appeared in the above-mentioned issue of *Leninian Oughiov* and was signed by a group of Armenian experts:

The possibilities offered by collective economy have not, as yet, been fully exploited in Armenia. Agricultural production has developed too slowly, and consequently a gap has grown up between the vast extent of socialist industrialization and the increase of the urban population and its demands, on the one hand, and the present level of agricultural output on the other. Thus, while the total industrial production of the Armenian SSR in 1956 is five times larger than in 1940 and the urban population has doubled since 1939, agricultural production has gone up by a mere 35 percent.

The extent to which agriculture in the Republic, in its present state, satisfies the demands of the population—in accordance with scientifically established norms—is as follows: bread, 51 percent; potatoes, 85 percent; vegetables, 54 percent; milk and dairy products, 25 percent; and meat, 22 percent.

The backwardness of agriculture is due to a non-compliance with the principle of providing kolkhozniks with material incentives and the mistakes made in agricultural planning, in the distribution of agricultural regions and in specialized cultivation. Thus, in 1950, following a decision to increase the production of wheat extra land was allotted to the growing of grain in various parts of the Republic at the expense of grasslands and pasture, leading in many places to an acceleration of the process of erosion. Relatively large areas in the Ararat plateau have been switched over to cotton planting contrary

to the acknowledged methods of crop distribution. Until recently, due to faulty planning, there was excessive planting of tobacco in some regions. In planning production in the hilly regions, areas allotted to grass-plants, seldom productive in these regions, have been unjustifiably increased at the expense of land planted to cereals. In planning production in the field of animal husbandry, excessive demands were made on certain regions, with the result that areas least provided with pasture lands were most overburdened with the job of raising animals.⁴

Now the future growth of a mixed agricultural production is made to depend on the increase of labor productivity, the improvement of crop raising and animal breeding, as well as on the mechanization of agriculture in general, which will be achieved in three stages, based on priorities: (a) 1955; (b) 1960-62; (c) 1970. Final mechanization is made dependent on a wide use of electrical energy.

It is estimated that in 1970 the population of Armenia will be 2,400,000; of these about 1 million will be made up of the rural population, 750-760,000 will be actively engaged in agriculture. It is assumed that appreciable changes will take place in the relation between the size of the productive rural population and the demand for labor resources according to different regions and administrative districts. They may necessitate a redistribution of population and people may have to be moved from the mountain regions to the foothills of the Ararat plateau to increase the yield and acreage of vine cultivation.

Naturally, agricultural expansion depends primarily on the fullest possible use being made of all available land resources, which are very limited in Armenia. One possibility is to transform a certain amount of unsuitable land (67,000 hectares) into irrigated cultivable land and vineyards. An extension of the irrigation network would open up a further 60,000 hectares of land, which is

presently of little agricultural value. A number of minor improvements are also possible. It is proposed to use the subterranean water sources of the Ararat plateau and the foothills for irrigation, to construct canals, to plant grasslands and to improve pasture lands, etc.

On an all-union scale Armenia is to specialize in the production of grapes and fruits, and in the production of wines, brandies, canned fruits and vegetables. Armenia is a grape, apricot and peach growing country of long standing and viticulture has always been carried out there on an industrial scale. Vines are cultivated in the foothills of the Ararat plateau, in the forest regions of the northeast, in Zangezur and Daralagyaz. These yield full-bodied dessert wines, brandy, champaign and table wines. Special attention will henceforth be paid to the cultivation of different kinds of table grapes, which at present are grown only on a very small scale. It is estimated that the area of vineyards and orchards can be increased threefold — from 35,600 hectares to 104,900 hectares. It is already planned to plant 69,000 hectares of vineyards and orchards by 1970, which is twice the area planted at present. Furthermore, certain technical improvements and measures intended to modernize and mechanize winegrowing are under consideration. Fruit growing is to be extended to the mountain regions, where types suitable to the climate will be cultivated. In the field of vine and fruit growing, special attention will be paid to the foothills of the plain of Ararat as well as to the Ararat plateau. The number of vine and fruit-growing sovkhozes, of which there are 21 at present, covering an area of about 6,000 hectares, is to be increased. It is planned to increase this number to 44 with an area of more than 30,000 hectares, of which 10 will be in the Ararat plateau, 32 in the foothills of the plain of Ararat, and 2 in the forest regions of the northeast. As they will all be sovkhozes, these newly-acquired lands will all belong directly to the Soviet state economy.

The plan to expand viticulture limits the possibilities of increasing the acreage of arable land, the area of which is to increase only 11 times. It is, however, proposed to compensate for this to a certain extent by

⁴ A. Maroukhan, S. Khrimian, A. Eritsian, O. Karchikian, *Haykakan SSR Gugbatessouian Hetaga Zargatsman Massin* (About the Future Development of Agriculture in the Armenian SSR), *Lenian Ougblov*, Erevan, 1957, No. 9, p. 30.

improving farming and irrigation techniques, and thus increase the home production of cereals and forage.

In the cultivation of foodstuffs, special importance is given to potatoes and vegetables. Potatoes are to be planted in all regions, with the exception of the Ararat plateau and the foothills of the plain of Ararat, where an insignificant quantity of early potatoes is to be planted for urban consumption. It is planned to increase the area planted to potatoes by 10 percent, and it is hoped to step up production to such an extent as to make it even possible to export surpluses. The main centers of potato cultivation will continue to be the regions of Lori-Pambak, the Sevan basin and the northeast.

The planting of vegetables is not only important for local consumption, it is also important industrially, as it is the basis of the canned food industry, to which great importance is attached on an all-union scale. Of special significance are the southern warm climate vegetables such as tomatoes, eggplant, pepper, onions, etc. It is proposed to create a farming region around Erevan, as well as to encourage farming in the neighborhood of Leninakan, Kirovakan, Alaverdi and other towns. Here too, of course, the plan makes optimistic prophecies.

In the sphere of agricultural raw materials cotton, tobacco and sugar beets are grown in Armenia. The area allotted to cotton (in the Ararat plateau) is to be slightly reduced and to cover 18,000 hectares. Tobacco planting, one of the more profitable branches of Armenian agriculture, at present covers an area of 11,000 hectares; it is planned to increase this area by 12 percent. Tobacco is grown in the forest regions of the northeast, in the Sevan basin, in Zangezur and in the boundary regions of the Ararat plain. The area allotted to the cultivation of sugar beets covers 4,000 hectares and is to remain unchanged. Sugar beets are grown in the regions of Akhuryan and Spitak, and its future extension to the Sevan basin (Basargechar, Martuni) and Zangezur (Sisian) is under consideration.

After Sovietization the cultivation of sesame was introduced into Armenia — it now

covers an area of 200 hectares in the regions of Oktemberyan and Echmiadzin. A 600-hectare sesame-planting sovkhoz will probably be created to feed the oil-extracting plant which has recently been erected.

Animal husbandry accounts for more than one third of Armenia's agricultural production and depends on the extent of natural pasture lands available (800,000 hectares). The development of this branch of agriculture is determined by the rate of increase of ofrage production. It is, therefore, planned to increase the area allotted to the cultivation of maize to 50,000 hectares and to increase the production of grass by 40 percent. A special effort is to be made to expand dairy farming by increasing the number of cattle and by improving their breeds. It is also planned to increase the number of sheep to about 2,400,000. Coarse-wool local sheep will be replaced by fine or semi-fine wool sheep, but a certain number of the local-coarse-wool sheep, known as the balbas breed, will be kept specially for the carpet industry. Efforts will also be made to render the raising of sheep more profitable. Nor has poultry farming been forgotten. During the period specified, it is planned to organize 10 dairy-farming sovkhozes, 2 sheep-raising sovkhozes and 8 poultry-farming sovkhozes.

The grasslands and the orchards of the mountain regions are suitable for apiculture which it is planned to increase by 60 percent. For the breeding of silkworms it is planned to treble the planting of mulberry trees. It is also planned to improve the breed of silkworms and to increase the production of cocoons five times.

The plan is, of course, devised in great detail, based on numerous estimates. It is hardly necessary to delve into a labyrinth of figures, especially since at the present time they only represent possibilities and the wishful thinking of the planners rather than actual fact. Since, however, such plans are always based on real factors, it is interesting to glance at the general conclusions of the planners as illustrated by the following two tables. They compare the production of the individual branches of a mixed agricultural economy and the per-

centage proportion of each branch in 1955 and in 1970. Their figures for vegetable produce are as follows:

	Value in Millions of Rubles	Percent-age of Total Value	Value in Millions of Rubles	Percent-age of Total Value	Percent-Percent-age of Increase Value
Vine Cultivation	248.0	23.7	2,070.3	45.4	750
Fruit Cultivation	115.4	11.0	860.0	18.6	650
Agricultural Raw Materials	216.9	20.8	348.4	7.6	60
Cereals	227.5	21.7	478.6	10.5	110
Total	180.1	17.3	586.8	12.9	230
Vegetables	56.7	5.5	223.4	5.0	280
Forage	1,044.6	100.0	4,567.5	100.0	340

SOURCE: *Leninian Ougbiov*, 1957, No. 10, p. 67

The figures they give for animal produce are as follows:

	Animal Produce			
	Value in Millions of Rubles	Percent-age of Total Value	Value in Millions of Rubles	Percent-age of Total Value
		1955		1970
Milk	298.0	44.7	1,550.0	47.7
Meat	188.9	28.3	1,001.6	30.8
Wool	98.1	14.2	344.8	10.5
Eggs	52.0	7.9	275.4	8.5
Hides and Skins	18.0	2.9	24.7	0.8
Other Produce	13.4	2.0	53.5	1.7
Total	228.4	100.0	3,250.0	100.0

SOURCE: *Leninian Ougbiov*, 1957, No. 10, p. 67.

In addition to these tables, it is worth quoting the final summing up of the planners:

As the production and consumption estimates of agricultural produce show, in 1970 the Armenian SSR will be in a position to export 4,000,000,000 rubles worth of agricultural produce, while it will have to import only 2,000,000,000 rubles worth. This radical reorganization of agriculture, which depends on the thoroughgoing development of irrigation, the improvement of the soil, the complete mechanization of the processes of agricultural production and the reclamation of the requisite amount of land, is estimated to require, during the period 1961-1970-1975, an expenditure of approximately 2,300,000,000 rubles, of which 1,100,000,000 rubles will be spent on irrigation and soil improvement. The revenue derived from these enterprises will make it possible to repay the expenditure incurred in a comparatively short period.

The successful realization of the different stages of the plan for agricultural development depends on how efficient the measures prove to be which have been adopted to provide material incentives to the kolkhozniks with a view to improving individual branches of agriculture.⁵

The question raised in the last paragraph is a vital one. In all Soviet planning, be it a general plan to be implemented over a period of years or a particular one for immediate implementation, the human element, which is the determining factor in carrying out the plans, is left out of the picture. Therefore, the plan for the agricul-

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 68

tural development of Armenia, however meticulously prepared, cannot be fully implemented until the social aspect of the problem, that of providing workers with adequate incentives and encouragement, has been given due consideration.

The Plan for Economic Decentralization

The mountainous nature of Armenia, which covers only a small area, divides it into regions with totally different natural characteristics. In Armenia one can pass from desert or semi-desert belts to mountainous belts; sub-regions with different climatic, soil and flora conditions rapidly succeed each other and the mountain chains determine the natural conditions of the isolated regions. Consequently, a horizontal division of the country into nine agricultural regions would not be a true division. Therefore, the belts, regions and sub-regions have drawn up in accordance with the crops cultivable at various altitudes; but this division has also, in every case, been based on the existing fundamental natural regions. Thus, Armenia is divided into the following seven natural regions: the Ararat plain, Shirak, Lori-Pambak, the forest region of the northeast, the Sevan basin, Daralagiaz and Zangezur. These are all separated from one another by mountain barriers. Although, however, the pattern of these agricultural regions is fixed by nature, the development of particular industries in this or that area might make it necessary to be guided by other than purely geographical considerations in mapping out the economic regions of the country.

Account must also be taken of the present state of industry, transport and power supply and the possibilities of their future development.

S. Khrimian suggests that Armenia be divided into four economic regions: the central region, consisting of the Ararat plain, the foothills of the Ararat plateau,

the mountainous part of the Ararat plateau, the Sevan basin and Daralagiaz; the north-western region, consisting of Shirak; the northern region, consisting of Lori-Pambak and the forest belts of the northeast; the southern region consisting of Zangezur; the central gerion would thus contain five agricultural regions, the northern two, and the other two, one each.

The nature of the productivity of these economic regions is as follows:

Central region: This area accounts for 75 percent of the republic's industrial production and 80 percent of its agricultural production. Power is supplied by the Razdan hydroelectric power stations. Industry is centered in Erevan with a population of 400,000, while agriculture is spread over the neighboring districts in the plain of Ararat. The branches of industry which are of all-union importance are the chemical, engineering, light metals, wine, brandy, canned foods and tobacco industries. The building materials, silk, wool, leather goods, clothing, oils and fats and other industries are also considerably developed. In agriculture, vines and fruits, cotton, tobacco, vegetables, animal produce, cereals, potatoes, silk, cocoons are of all-union importance. Future developments in industry depend on extending the railway network from Erevan to the north, while future developments in agriculture depend on the extension of the irrigation network in the foothills of the Ararat plateau.

Northwest region: The Shirak economic region is centered round Leninakan with a population of 110,000. Leninakan is an industrial and communications center; it has textile, engineering, bicycle and metallurgical factories, railway repair shops and large slaughterhouses. In the building materials industry, the quarries of Ani, Artik and Pemzashen are famous. There is a sugar factory in Spitak, and a food products

factory and other light industries elsewhere. In agriculture, the region specializes in the production of cereals, and in dairy and cattle farming. Beets, potatoes and green vegetables are also important products of the region. Future developments in industry are linked with improvements in mining and quarrying techniques, while developments in agriculture will depend largely on improving the irrigation system on the Shirak plateau. The power supply in this region is, at present, insufficient.

Northern region: This economic region is concentrated in Lorr-Pambak, while industry is almost totally non-existent in the forest belts of the northeast. Kirovakan, with a population of 45,000, is an industrial center with fertilizer and textile factories and a factory producing agricultural machinery. Alaverdi is the center of the copper industry with copper mines and a smelting plant producing both crude and superphosphates and copper salts are by-products of the copper industry. The production of copper and its by-products is of an all-union importance. The region derives its power from Chorakes. In the west of the region, in Kalinino, there are factories for dairy products, while in the east, in Ichevan, Sevkard and Dilizhan, the timber, wine and canned foods industries are at a fairly high stage of development. Another feature of the region is a highly-developed carpet industry. In agriculture, the western part of the region specializes in cattle and dairy farming and the cultivation of potatoes, while the eastern part cultivates tobacco, grapes and fruits and engages in the rearing of silkworms. Cereals and cattle-breeding are of particular importance.

Southern region: The economic region of Zangezur is a productive region with vast possibilities. The copper and molybdenum mines in Kafan, Kacharan, Agarak and Das-

takert are of all-union importance. Geological prospecting constantly reveals new mineral resources. The limestone, marble and other quarries are also of importance. Although the region is rich in sources of power supply, only a small proportion of these is at present being utilized. The construction of electric generating stations on the Vorotan River at a future date may bring about a radical improvement. The canned food, wine, butter and cheese, meat, silk and timber industries are also developing. The region has a diverse agricultural economy; it breeds cattle and silkworms and cultivates cereals, vines, fruits and tobacco.

From the description of these economic regions, it is apparent that they are not all on the same level of productivity. The central region is of particular importance, especially as regards its future possibilities. The development of the other regions largely depends on the realization of certain projects.

As can be seen from the preliminary estimates of the plan, industrial development will gradually assume prominence in Armenia and will employ a majority of the population. Therefore, the necessity of doing everything possible to guarantee a steady industrial development is becoming more and more important and pressing. This means above all ensuring adequate sources of power supply and improving transport facilities, which are of vital importance, especially in Armenia.

The only source of energy in Armenia is that of electricity through water power. The common types of fuel in Armenia are either totally absent or have only a local and non-industrial importance. It will be a long time before the available sources of water power are used in a thoroughgoing and rational way. The following statement

referring to the 1954 position still holds true:

Armenia has great sources of water power which have not yet been exploited. In 1954 only about 32 percent of the total water power of the republic was being utilized.⁶ One of the main reasons why these sources of power have not been fully utilized is the capricious attitude of the authorities, uneconomic planning and the senseless waste of water supplies. The case of the unnecessary squandering of the waters of Lake Sevan may perhaps be a guide for a more proper use of other sources of water supply. The whole success of the plans for the expansion of industry and the harmonious cooperation between the different economic regions hinges mainly on the solution of the problem of power supplies.

In the sphere of transport facilities too, Armenia is not yet ready to bear the burdens of the development of a complex economy. The main Tiflis — Leninakan — Erevan — Baku railroad does not fully cover the central and the isolated regions of the country, while the few highways that exist, in a mountainous country like Armenia, cannot be of great economic value. At present, the realization of two projects are of vital importance for the solution of the transport problem in Armenia. The first is the completion of the Erevan — Akstafa railroad. The construction of this railroad,

which is of enormous economic importance to Armenia, was planned as early as 1928, but was not completed due to external political pressure. Under present conditions, however, the urgency of its completion is once more being realized. In a speech before the Supreme Soviet in December 1957, Kochinian, Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Armenian SSR, stated that the Erevan — Sevan portion of the line was nearing completion, and requested the appropriation of funds in the new budget for its extension as far as Akstafa. But, apparently, higher authority has not yet given its approval to this request. The next project of great economic importance is the linking of Zangezur directly with the capital, which necessitates the extension of the railroad now running up to Kafan. The gradually expanding industry of Zangezur cannot be allowed to remain isolated and to reach a state of inactivity due to the lack of adequate means of transport.

Thus, scientific institutions in Soviet Armenia, in accordance with specific recommendations from government departments, are conducting systematic studies on problems connected with the distribution, specialization and cooperation of the various branches of the economy of the country, and, in general, on the problem of dividing the country into economic regions and raising agricultural productivity. The future will show the results achieved by the adoption of measures based on these studies.

⁶ Armyanskaya SSR (The Armenian SSR), Moscow, 1955, p 84.

(From "Caucasian Review")

A PAGE FROM ARMENIAN MEDICAL HISTORY

DR. VAHRAM TORCOMIAN

 Fortunately, the famous princess of the Siunis, Lady Sahakia, has not been doomed to oblivion without leaving behind a precious memory of her deeds.

The historian Stepan Orbelian has devoted some beautiful lines of praise to her memory,¹ lines which have been rendered even more laudatory to the distinguished Lady by the immortal pen of Father Ghevond Alishan.²

However, Armenian medical history owes an important page to this Armenian Princess, for I have noted that her name is intimately linked with one of the first lepers' asylums in Armenia.³

Lady Sahakia lived in the V-VI centuries of the Christian era, the wife of a prince of the land of Siunis who, after the death of her husband, became regent and took the reins of the government all by herself from 517 to 519,⁴ having ruled the country with great wisdom, as Stepan Orbelian has written.⁵

In describing the regency of Lady Sahakia, Father Alishan presents her with the distinguished titles of "Tjartaraban Ashkharhatzouhi" (Eloquent Queen) and "Ashkharhatikuin" (First Lady of the Land).⁶

¹ S. Orbelian, *History of the Siunis*, Paris, 1895, Vol. I, pp. 114-117.

² Father Ghevond Alishan, "Sissakan," Venice, p. 7, 13, 17, 214, 280-281.

³ Orbelian, *Ibid*, p. 117, 128.

⁴ "Sissakan," p. 17.

⁵ Orbelian, *Ibid*, p. 114.

⁶ "Sissakan," p. 7, 17, and 280.

It follows, therefore, that all the charitable institutions which fell under the jurisdiction of the Ashkharhatzouhi Lady — churches, monasteries, infirmaries, hospitals etc. — must have become the object of her tender care, for Orbelian in his "History of the Siunis" writes of her: "Er guin medzahavad yev li amenain barebashtoudiamp" — she was a woman of great faith and full of all devout worship.⁷

During the regency of this incomparable princess, in one of the provinces of the Land of Siunis there was an asylum for lepers which, ignored by many as inconsequential, has merited but the cursory mention of our chroniclers.⁸

This lepers asylum had been founded long since by a hermit named Kiout who has a history of his own.

The grandson of Shabita, Prince of the Province of Goghthan, Kiout was formerly called Vasak. This Vasak had an only brother named Shapouh whom he mortally wounded one day over a hereditary quarrel, but instantly repenting of his foul deed, he threw himself on the dying body, sobbing and wailing, clung tightly to the body and vowed that, if his brother did not die of the wound, he would resign life and its pleasures once and forever and will dedicate himself to a life of penance and the cloister.

⁷ Orbelian, p. 114.

⁸ Orbelian, *Ibid*, p. 117, 128.

It happened that Shapouh recovered and Vasak, loyal to his oath, retired in the mountains of Baghk in Siunik, remote from all civilization, changed his name to Kiout ("rediscover," for having rediscovered his brother), and after living a life of isolation in a glen near the banks of a river called Aghavno Get for three years, he retired to the vicinity of a place called Yeraskhi Karavaz and there, with the cooperation of another dedicated hermit, founded (who knows with what insurmountable difficulties) a Monastery, gathered his brethren, and founded the Lepers Asylum.⁹

It appears that Kiout appointed one of his disciples, a monk named Yeritzak, as Director of the Asylum, judging from a reference in the writings of Orbelian.¹⁰

This is the same Yeritzak who enjoyed the confidence of Sahakia during her Ladyship of the Land. She appointed him bishop and for his ordination she invited Catholicos Mousheh to Siunik whom she received with stately pomp and royal honors, having sent her own son to escort the Patriarch to her court.¹¹

It is not difficult to infer from this story that Princess Sahakia could not have been indifferent to the Lepers Asylum founded by Kiout and, without doubt, she made the institution the object of her special care.

Kiout had assembled the persecuted lepers from all parts of the land under the shelter of his asylum where he took care of their needs, as well as he tried to heal their malignant diseases.¹²

Lady Sahakia, no doubt, did not spare her princely generosity, through the instrumentality, in all probability, of Archbishop Yeritzak, that devoted, leper-healing clergyman who had merited her appreciation and respect.

Unfortunately, I am not in possession of more definite, authentic and especially detailed information as to the exact extent of Lady Sahakia's guardianship of that Asylum, or what particular supplies or appropriations were provided for the afflicted and miserable lepers who were sheltered there. It seems, however, that Kiout's Asylum must have been in pretty good condition because, in addition to everything else, it also owned its vineyard, Aygestan Ourganotzi, as Orbelian records.

At all events, no matter what the condition of Kiout's Asylum for the lepers, there can be no doubt that Princess Sahakia was its patroness, her name an adornment to the 6th century Medical History of the Armenians.

It is gratifying to note that the Armenian woman started very early to shine with her spirit of charity, to take a pioneering role in benevolent and health institutions from the earliest centuries, with a dedication which at once was full of zeal and voluntary offering, and which, with the passing of the ages, instead of diminishing, has increased a thousand fold.

At a later date a Persian King razed to the ground the Asylum which Kiout founded, but before long it was rebuilt, and this time more than one institution, for, writes Orbelian, "Zi sahmanetzin ourganotzes, yev arad dayin zbedes notza". (They founded many asylums for the lepers and they generously supplied their needs.)

⁹ Orbelian, p. 121, 130.

¹⁰ Orbelian, Ibid, p. 117-118.

¹¹ Orbelian, Ibid, p. 115-120. Ormanian, "Azkabroudum," Vol. I, p. 523-526.

¹² Orbelian, Ibid. p. 118.

LIFE AND PAPERS OF VAHAN CARDASHIAN

JAMES H. TASHJIAN

Formation of the American Committee for the Independence of Armenia

 On 1918 Vahan Cardashian apparently took a good look around himself — and decided that he didn't care for what he saw.

Since roughly 1905, he had been waging almost singlehandedly in the United States a propaganda war in favor of Armenian independence. Although his efforts had not been without their certain beneficial results, yet he knew that he had succeeded only in skirmish victories — that there was a battle to be fought and he was alone to fight.

He looked at his compatriots in this country and he despaired. He reviewed his unhappy experiences with the Armenian National Union, in Boston, headed by the controversial Mihran Sevasly, and he saw his people disunited and confused as to the pressing issues that confronted the Armenian people:

..... (Despite the work to be done for Armenia in this country) the Armenians squat on their couches and dream, waiting for a miracle to take place and Armenia be freed.¹

Cardashian's condemnation of the Armenian American community was pointed at (as we have seen) those elements in the community who had so far departed their senses as to work openly or covertly

against the concept of a self-governing independent Armenian Republic, which, in 1919, although a reality, did not enjoy the support and confidence of these people.

The following document, found in the Cardashian papers, is offered here without editting to illustrate historically the difficulties faced by Cardashian in his attempt to push the Armenian cause ahead in association with the Armenian National Union, which then still enjoyed the reputation, if nothing else, of being a catholic, representative amalgam of all influential Armenian organizations and institutions in America.²

In November 1918, the ANU appointed Cardashian to head the "Armenian Press Bureau", which was to operate independently, though under its sponsorship. It soon became apparent to Vahan Cardashian, that Mihran Sevasly and company, up in Boston, merely meant him to be a puppet of the contumacious ventriloquism of the ANU board. Allowing that the following statement was obviously written by Cardashian shortly after the formation of the American Committee for the Independence of Armenia, it is chronologically wise to introduce it here since it throws open wide the doors to violent controversies which finally and indelibly convinced Vahan Car-

¹ See *The Armenian Press Bureau and its Work*, p. 32.

² The ARF as related pulled out of the National Union in 1918 when the Union bitterly opposed all action in favor of Armenian independence. The full story has been related in past issues of this series.

dashian that he could no longer do business with the "Sevasly crowd"³ — that an active, dynamic committee of non-Armenians, dedicated to the Armenian cause, was the crying need at the moment to fill the vacuum created by his quarrelsome compatriots.

. . . . Those who affect disagreement with the activities of this Bureau have endeavored to make out a "case" for themselves based on partial evidence and on assumptions.

Their "case" appears to be based on the following assertions: (1) That Mr. Cardashian has made the statement that the American Committee has been brought into being through his own efforts and that that Committee would dissolve if he were to withdraw from the Bureau; (2) That messages have been sent by Mr. Cardashian to our Delegation that Mr. Gerard go to Paris; (3) that a cablegram has been sent to the Armenian National Delegation⁴ directing it to discontinue negotiations with the Peace Conference.

As a necessary part of our reply to the foregoing assertions it should be stated that, Mr. Cardashian did not invite himself into the body of the Bureau, but was invited by the Union; that he does not receive any compensation for his work; that, since the creation of the Bureau, he has repeatedly asked his colleagues, and later the National Delegation that he be relieved from his duties; and that he entertains no expectation or ambition as to the future, except that he regards it a duty to respond to any call that may be made on him by constituted authorities.

(1) The statement in question was made, and is based on facts, as Mr. Gerard confirms it in another part of this paper. But the circumstances and the motive which have prompted that statement must be set forth in order to throw a correct light upon the subject.

At that time Mr. Sevasly was seriously interfering with the activities of the Bureau, and Mr. Cardashian told him that if he, Mr. Sevasly, further persisted in that course, then Mr. Cardashian would be forced to withdraw, which would bring about the dissolution of the American Committee. This he considered a duty to say in the interest of the cause.

The particular function of this Bureau is to conduct propaganda in America and to educate American opinion in favor of the independence of Armenia.⁵ Therefore it is necessary that, if Mr. Sevasly had anything to say or do on the subject, he should have consulted with this Bu-

reau, which he at all times omitted to do, contrary to his repeated pledges. At the time when the above statement was made, this Bureau was engaged in the difficult task of organizing representative American opinion in favor of the independence of Armenia, which effort resulted in the bringing together of the names of twenty thousand ministers, eighty-five Bishops, forty Governors and two hundred and fifty College and University Presidents, who petitioned the President in favor of the independence of Integral Armenia.⁶ During this work Mr. Sevasly, without any consultation whatsoever with this Bureau, and without any necessary plan of campaign, was advocating here and there that America accept a mandate for Armenia, and a little later procured the Union to issue instructions to its branches for the same purpose, which we disapproved, and which instructions were recalled at the instance of the Department of State as unwise and untimely.⁷ We told Mr. Sevasly, orally and by letter, that Mr. Gerard, Mr. Hughes and President Butler⁸ believed that the sort of campaign that he was conducting was untimely and unwise, because the proposition of the League of Nations had strong opponents in America, and our advocacy of a mandate would be an unfortunate intrusion into American politics; because no preliminary educational campaign had been conducted on the subject of mandate, without which we would invite unfavorable comment from the press, and also because in the minds of a great many people a mandate conflicted with the idea of independence, and the clear result of our advocating that America accept a mandate for Armenia would be that our efforts to organize representative opinion for independence would fail.⁹ Moreover the American Committee, which had been specifically organized for advocating the independence of Armenia, felt at the time that we would be taking an unfair advantage of their sympathy for us if we suddenly dragged them into the advocacy of a new policy, such as mandate. It was essential that the members of the Committee and particularly its Chairman, should have been apprised of the new Armenian policy, so that if anyone of them wanted to withdraw, they might do so without being embarrassed or hurting the Armenian cause. During all this period, and until today Mr. Sevasly has worked without regard to the opinion and advice of the American Committee, much to the annoyance of that Committee. This Bureau has done its work under incredible handicaps. It found itself forced to call the attention of Mr. Sevasly to the imperative demands of the situation.

³ Cardashian's own words, as expressed to friends.

⁴ The so-called Boghos Nubar delegation to Paris.

⁵ An admirable, simply-stated formula of action for any and all groups aspiring to aid Armenia's liberation.

⁶ Of this, more in later issues.

⁷ A statement of some value to historians.

⁸ That is, Ambassador James G. Gerard, Charles Evans Hughes, Nicholas Murray Butler, President of Columbia University.

⁹ This to all thinking Armenians was the orthodox view at that time. It is not true that Armenians embraced avidly the American mandate scheme.

but unfortunately, without any avail. We found ourselves constrained to use strong language by letters to remedy an intolerable situation, to which objection has been raised by our critics; yet the remarkable thing is that we have stopped at writing letters, and have not resorted to more radical measures. We have been told that the work of the Bureau was not necessary, because the Armenian cause was just and it was already favorably settled, and efforts were made to do away with the Bureau. Our critics did not stop to think that the Armenian case was just in 1916, when the Powers of the Entente had divided up Armenia among themselves, and it was just in 1918, when France claimed the right to guide the destiny of Armenia, and it was just in January 1919, when a plenipotentiary member of the American Delegation, by letter, stated that he did not think that Armenia could be made independent at this time.¹⁰ The cause of Armenia will be, we believe, determined as we want it. But we believe, as Mr. Gerard confirms our belief, and which will be testified to in due time by the President, that the activities of the American Committee shall be responsible for the just determination of the Armenian case. Therefore, had we yielded to the unfair criticisms and obstructive tactics of certain Armenians, we would have betrayed the cause of Armenia. We stuck to our post because we realized the full measure of our responsibility. Our critics have also said that we have been extravagant in spending the nation's money. For the last two and a half months we have been running this Bureau on our own credit. All the appropriation that has been made for our expenses represents less than five percent of what France has spent for propaganda in this country, less than fifteen percent of what the Lithuanians have spent in this country for propaganda, and less than ten percent of what the Jugo-Slavs have spent. It is less than what an American Ambassador receives per year, *vis-à-vis* that when the full story of our experiences and of our activities has been written, we shall receive the commendatory judgment of our people, and that will be the only compensation that we seek as the result of our efforts.¹¹

The American Committee was organized thought the efforts of this Bureau, and against the opinion of Mr. Sevastyan, who did not believe at the time that such a Committee was necessary. The fact must be recognized that the National Union under Mr. Sevastyan's leadership had not done any valuable or constructive propaganda work in this country prior to the creation of this Bureau. A recent letter from Mr. Gerard to Mr. Tiriyakian,¹² sets forth these facts in clear terms. "As a sincere friend of Armenia", says Mr. Gerard, "I deem it my duty to give a warning

to the Armenians that Mr. Cardashian's withdrawal at this time will bring about the disintegration of the American Committee". . . . When about six or seven months ago he prevailed upon me to join the American Committee, I did not believe that what has since been accomplished was possible. Americans felt that the Armenians ought to be protected against Turkish aggression, but they did not know that Armenians sought or could have independence. Today representative American opinion stands as a unit for the independence of Integral Armenia. Under his leadership the American Committee enlightened and organized American opinion, which has determined the attitude of the President toward the Armenian case. I have good reason also to say that the activities of the American Committee have been largely instrumental in inducing the Powers to the conclusion that Turkey must be dismembered. . . ."

(2) Mr. Cardashian has never taken any important step without the approval and knowledge of the members of the Bureau. He has never cabled or written the Delegation for himself, that Mr. Gerard should go to Paris. The members of the Bureau felt for some time past that Mr. Gerard might be of practical service to our Delegation in Paris. Our attitude on the subject was duly communicated to the National Union and their views sought. Mr. Sevastyan was invited to come to New York and consult with us on the subject. The Union did not express itself on the subject. Accordingly the Bureau sent the following cable to the Delegation: "Subject to your approval we shall ask Gerard to go to Paris to cooperate with you." (Mr. Gerard had no knowledge of this.) Since all cables to Paris are signed by Mr. Cardashian, this one was also signed by him. It is to be seen from this cable that the Delegation's approval and opinion were sought in advance. The Delegation sent two cables on the subject. One from Paris and the other from London, which read as follows: "Would be deeply grateful to Gerard if he could come at once as his presence Paris would be of greatest possible assistance."

Mr. Gerard stated that it would be very inconvenient for him to go to Paris and that if anyone was to go over on behalf of the Committee, he should do so on condition the committee was not to relieve the President from his responsibility and the assurances he had given, and that the President should give his personal consent that such a representative should go over. But we believed that, if need be, Mr. Gerard would go to Paris, were it not for the unfortunate letter which Mr. Sevastyan wrote him at this time. Mr. Sevastyan, in his said letter, criticized a certain cablegram from Mr. Gerard to Paris as a "rash" and "ill-considered" one, characterized his advice as an "undemocratic" one, and further asserted that the American Peace Commission had said some weeks ago that no one should go to Paris

¹⁰ The identity of this person, at the moment cannot be determined. Could Sec. of State Lansing be indicated.

¹¹ And it would appear, this was the ONLY compensation Cardashian ever received — if this was compensation in any sense.

¹² A great American patriot, and a member of the board of the Press Union.

at this time. When Mr. Sevastly wrote this letter he knew that the Delegation had asked Mr. Gerard to go to Paris, and he also knew that Col. House¹³ had cabled the American Committee and had advised that a representative of that Committee should go to Paris to present its case to the Peace Conference.

The reply of Mr. Gerard to Mr. Sevastly's said letter clearly shows that Mr. Sevastly had committed a grossly improper act.

Mr. Sevastly's letter had all the ear marks of lack of knowledge of American customs, and of faithlessness. He had marked his letter to Mr. Gerard as "confidential". And he feels hurt that Mr. Gerard should have given that letter to Mr. Cardashian. It is not customary in America to write an insulting letter to a person, and then impose secrecy on that person. Again, Mr. Sevastly by that letter attempted to betray his comrades to another person, and informed that person that disunion existed among the Armenians, and he tried to do these things in an underhanded fashion. It was not for Mr. Sevastly to criticize the dealings of Mr. Gerard with the National Delegation. It was for the National Delegation to tell Mr. Gerard what it thought of Mr. Gerard's said cablegram. The National Delegation, in response to Mr. Gerard's said cablegram, thanked him. The National Delegation is composed of experienced persons who would know what step to take in response to any suggestion that may be made to them.

It should be here parenthetically stated that Mr. Cardashian had absolutely no knowledge of six or ten letters which Mr. Sevastly alleges that he has written to Mr. Gerard, except what he has heard about them during the last two weeks from members of the Union, and that his, Mr. Sevastly's, last letter to Mr. Gerard and the copy of Mr. Gerard's answer to Mr. Sevastly were handed to Mr. Cardashian by Mr. Gerard himself. In our opinion, Mr. Sevastly has been guilty of ill manners by writing so many letters to Mr. Gerard, after having assured himself that Mr. Gerard did not care to communicate with him. Mr. Gerard had once met and heard Mr. Sevastly speak.

Be it here stated that Mr. Gerard was so utterly disgusted with Mr. Sevastly's action that he asked to be relieved, but was prevailed upon by Mr. Cardashian to stay pending the arrival of Mr. Massehian.¹⁴

(3) The American Committee for the Independence of Armenia is an independent body which advocates the independence of Armenia within the boundaries defined by the National Delegation, and in its activities does not take any orders from this Bureau or from any other source. But it keeps itself in touch with the developments and acts according to the requirements of the circumstances. The Delegation, by

cables addressed to Mr. Gerard and this Bureau stated that, "situation generally being very critical owing to pro-Turkish schemes we would be deeply grateful for the support of your Committee etc". (of course we are not at liberty to publish the texts of these cables). It was in response to these messages from Paris and other reports dealing with Islamic and pro-Turkish activities, that Mr. Gerard cabled the Premiers of the Entente, the Peace Conference, the President and Colonel House. He asked the President and the Peace Conference that if the decision of the Conference was to be adverse to Armenia, then the Conference should hold up its decision so that the American Committee appear and argue the case further. It is to be noted that no appeal can be taken from the decision of the Peace Conference and therefore this was the only way by which an adverse decision could be held up. It was in response to this cable that Colonel House recommended that the American Committee could not force itself on the Peace Conference without the consent of Armenian authorities. Therefore it was essential that the Armenian National Delegation should consent to the appearance of the American Committee. Mr. Gerard did not tell the National Delegation that it should break off negotiations. He said that the Delegation of Integral Armenia should present a note to the Peace Conference and state that if the decision of the Conference was to be adverse to Armenia, then the Armenians would withdraw from further negotiations. It is clear that if the Peace Conference had before it a body, such as the Armenian Delegation, to which it could render its decision, then it would not hold up the decision of the case. Had the Delegation found it advisable to act on Mr. Gerard's suggestion, the Armenian case could not have suffered, because the suggested the arrival there and the appearance before the discontinuance of negotiations was to last until Conference of the representatives of the Amrini Committee. Moreover, if the decision of the Peace Conference was to be adverse to the Armenians, the temporary withdrawal of the National Delegation would be only offering the Armenians an opportunity for a second hearing. Those who are acquainted with procedure in such matters understand the logic of the step that the American Committee had thus taken. *And another reason—the leading reason—which has prompted and justified the despatch of said cablegram was for the purpose of serving notice on the Entente that Americans were willing and ready to take charge of the Armenian case, and make it their own and fight for it, if the Conference failed to do justice.* We felt that we ought to be grateful to Mr. Gerard and his associates for this heroic attitude. But, as it has been stated, the American Committee exercises its own judgment in such matters. Mr. Gerard in his reply to Mr. Sevastly stated that, "I shall consult with Mr. Cardashian hereafter, as I have heretofore and exercise my own judgment as to what steps should be taken etc." and "everything that has heretofore been done by the Press Bureau in the name of the American Committee has been done with my

¹³ O confidant of Pres. Wilson. On House, see previous issues of the Review.

¹⁴ On Massehian, see previous issue of the Review.

knowledge and consent." It is absolutely clear that if we did not like the way the American Committee is conducting its activities, all that we had to do would be to tell them so, and it is certain that the Committee will not force itself on the Armenians. This Mr. Gerard specifically states in his reply to Mr. Sevasty.

It is furthermore asserted by our critics that the National Delegation has expressed its disapproval of the alleged criticism made by this Bureau of the Allied nations. The criticism in question refers to a cablegram sent by Mr. Sevasty and Mr. Cardashian jointly to the President and a cablegram of inquiry sent by Mr. Gerard to Colonel House. Mr. Sevasty had a conference with Mr. Cardashian to whom he gave information about the unsatisfactory conditions which then prevailed in Cilicia, and it was agreed between them that a cablegram be sent to the President in a certain sense, a copy of which was transmitted to Mr. Sevasty and did not evoke any dissenting opinion from him. During the said conference Mr. Sevasty tried to induce Mr. Cardashian to prevail upon the American Committee that said Committee hold mass-meetings to denounce what was alleged to be the unfair attitude of France in Cilicia. That suggestion Mr. Cardashian regarded as a radical one, although one that naturally an Armenian would feel that ought to have been carried out, and submitted it the following day to Mr. Gerard who likewise considered it as an unwise and untimely one, and instead sent a cablegram of inquiry to Colonel House. If any error has been committed in the two steps which have thus been taken, Mr. Cardashian absolves Mr. Sevasty of all responsibility and assumes it himself.

We regret sincerely that any misunderstanding should have arisen in Armenian circles at this critical juncture. We believe that there was no necessity for the prevailing controversy. We sincerely desire to see harmonious cooperation among all Armenian bodies. We have no private ends in view as the result of our efforts, except the success of our just cause. At this last moment, we declare that we have no feeling of animosity toward any person or group of persons. Our feelings have been at all times and now are friendly toward everyone without regard to what has been said or done.

THE ARMENIAN PRESS BUREAU.



The intricate, intimate, mechanics of the formation of the great American Committee for the Independence of Armenia are interred with Vahan Cardashian. We know for instance how he went about gathering his influential forces to the interests of the Armenians; but we do not know to this day how the actual kernel was planted;

for when we pick up the documented story, Ambassador James G. Gerard is already the Chairman of the American Committee for the Independence of Armenia and the first giant American Armenophiles have already aligned themselves behind the cause of Armenia.

The Cardashian Papers contain several copies of an interesting little pamphlet, printed in the Armenian language, which purports to tell the story of the Armenian Press Bureau. In this publication, Cardashian, its author, gives the following skeletal story of the first days of the ACIA.

. . . . In November 1918, the Armenian National Union established the Armenian Press Bureau, of which I was the chairman. It was at that time I saw that an Armenian body would be unable successfully to push the Armenian Case in the United States. I also saw that propaganda to be effective must be vigorous and direct. This propaganda effort must be of such a nature as to influence the United States government. This propaganda effort had to be carefully weighed and balanced, and meticulously planned in order to be of use. . . . Therefore, in December, 1918, I organized the American Committee for the Independence of Armenia, of which friend ambassador Gerard was the Chairman. .¹⁵

From another publication, we find that the Messrs. Ashod Tiryakian, Aghazar Keshishian and Krikor Chebook, aided Cardashian materially and morally in the establishment of the ACIA, as they had aided him in the formation of the Press Bureau.¹⁶ We shall have occasion later on in this series to comment at some length on these three gentlemen.

Cardashian's effort to form his American Committee for the Independence of Armenia would seem to have been a large enough project to have fully occupied any one man. But Cardashian was an army,

¹⁵ *The Armenian Press Bureau and its Work*, p. 32.

¹⁶ See *The Armenian American Community*, by M. Hampartsoumian, *Hairenik Monthly*, June 1923, p. 75.

a veritable dynamo; and we find, in poring through the pertinent papers of the time, that while soliciting prominent Americans to endorse the ACIA, and enter into membership in that group, he yet was sending propaganda material to still other influential Americans — while at the same time proposing and promoting a number of other schemes — one of which was a historic banquet of the ACIA, February 8, 1919, at which, for all intents and purposes, the establishment of the ACIA was formalized.

The historian here can do no better to illustrate his point than to present in Chronological order the pertinent papers in the Kardashian file which have to do with the formation of the ACIA, the continuing propaganda effort of Vahan Cardashian, and the sponsorship of the February 8 banquet. The statements and opinions of the prominent Americans quoted, of course, are of high historical value:

.... Thank you for your letter of December 22.

I should be very glad to become a member of the American Committee for the Independence of Armenia.

Wishing you perfect success, I am ever

BRADLEY A. FISKE¹⁷

.... I wish with all my heart that I were able to join the American Committee for the Independence of Armenia. Every one has sympathized with the struggles of your nation, and has been shocked at the wholesale destruction which this war brought with it.

Unfortunately, the pressure of work here at home is so great that the number of committees on which I can really render service is very small indeed; and I do not like to have my name included on the lists of committees where I cannot myself do a share of the work. Under these circumstances I am obliged to decline your kind invitation.

ARTHUR T. HADLEY¹⁸

¹⁷ Bradley Allen Fiske (1854-1942), American naval officer and inventor.

¹⁸ Arthur Twining Hadley (1856-1930), American economist and educator. President, Yale University (1899-1921).

December 26, 1918.

My dear Mr. Cardashian:—

I have read with great interest the pamphlet entitled "The Case of Armenia". I am convinced that Armenia should have some form of autonomy, but what that form should be I do not know. To have complete independence unless conditions to the north and south of the country are made satisfactory by the treaty of peace might not be advisable at present but certainly there should be some form of autonomy looking forward at least eventually to complete independence.

(ILLEGIBLE)

I am in receipt of your favor of December 22nd and am willing to become a member of the American Committee for the Independence of Armenia.

Very sincerely yours,
R. M. HURD²⁰

.... I am duly in receipt of your letter of the 26th inst. I fully share Mr. Hughes' reluctance to belong to a Committee of this character, however much I may sympathize with its work, because I have found by experience that there is always danger of members of such an organization who take no part in its proceedings finding themselves considered responsible for action in which they have had no agency. If you still think it is worth while to have my name as a member of the Committee, with the very distinct understanding that my membership signifies nothing except an expression of general sympathy with the attempt to secure an independent country for the persecuted Armenians, I am willing to serve; but I must ask you to remember the limitations which I have so carefully stated.

CHARLES J. BONAPARTE²¹

.... I am in hearty sympathy with the movement to forward the independence of Armenia, and shall be glad to serve, as you suggest in your letter of December twenty-second, as a member of the American Committee.

BENJ. I. WHEELER²²

.... I have received your letter upon my return after an absence of a few days. I shall be very glad to serve as a member of your Committee for the Independence of Armenia. I am wholly in sympathy with the end which you

¹⁹ Name illegible. This letter emanated from the Secretary's Office, Yale University.

²⁰ Richard M. Hurd, President, Lawyer's Mortgage Company, of New York City.

²¹ Charles Joseph Bonaparte (1851-1921), U.S. lawyer, and former U.S. Secretary of the Navy and U.S. Atty. General.

²² Benjamin Ide Wheeler (1854-1927), American educator, and the distinguished president of the University of California.

desire to realize. I trust that the sufferings of your people are now over.

JOHN GRIER HIBBEN²³

I am in receipt of your favor of December 28th inviting me to become a member of The American Committee for the Independence of Armenia and it gives me much pleasure to accept this invitation.

Mr. Balfour's declaration that "the full liberation of Armenia is one of the war aims of the Allied Powers" accords with my own views as to the future of that martyred people. I hope the new year on which we are to-day entering may bring them the security, liberty and independence for which they have so long yearned.

JACOB GOULD SCHUSMAN²⁴

Sympathizing very deeply with the Armenians in the sufferings which they have had to endure in this cruel war, and hoping that the coming peace may bring to them freedom and security and independence from every tyrannical yoke, I regret very much that it does not seem possible for me at present to become a member of any more boards or committees.

HENRY VAN DYKE²⁵

. . . . I have your extremely courteous suggestion that I become a member of the American Committee for the Independence of Armenia.

I appreciate your suggestion, for the aim of this organization has my keen and sympathetic interest. It would be a pleasure to accept the invitation, but unfortunately I am at the present moment pledged to so many organizations to which I can give only a fraction of the time which is due them, that I do not feel I can, in justice to these, add a further obligation. I am appreciative of your assurance that there will be no active work in my connection with your Committee, but I also feel that in order to be of any service to you I should want to place myself at your disposal, and with the pressure of my present duties that would be quite impossible. I am, therefore, obliged to ask you to be good enough to excuse me from complying with your request.

Please accept my assurance that my decision is in no degree due to the lack of desire to be helpful to you in your efforts in behalf of the people of Armenia.

F. A. VANDERLIP²⁶

²³ John Grier Hibben (1861-1933), American educator, and president of Princeton University.

²⁴ American educator and diplomat, and president of Cornell University.

²⁵ American clergyman, educator and writer. Professor of English Literature at Princeton at the time, and former U.S. Minister to Netherlands and Luxembourg.

²⁶ Frank Arthur Vanderlip, American financier and in 1919 President of the National City Bank, New York City.

. . . . First of all I must thank you for your handsome present, "Armenian Legends and Poems." I shall value it highly both in itself and from its source.

In regard to your request that I go on the Committee for Armenian Independence, I am sorry to refuse for my sympathies as you know are wholly with you. But in this matter too, I find it necessary to guard against the charge of Editorial Bias.

ROLLO OGDEN²⁷

. . . . I am happy to accept your invitation to become a member of the American Committee for the Independence of Armenia. The sorrows and sufferings of the Armenians have touched me very deeply for many years past, and I rejoice beyond expression that the day has now dawned when there is an excellent prospect of their attaining not only freedom, but national independence.

With all the compliments of the season,

I am,

NICHOLAS MURRAY BUTLER²⁸

I will be very glad to serve on the American Committee for the Independence of Armenia. This is in reply to your letter of December 22d.

MADISON GRANT²⁹

. . . . I am glad to receive your letter of December 28th with its enclosure. I accept with pleasure membership in your Armenian Committee.

EVERETT P. WHEELER³⁰

Your letter of December 28th is just received. You request that I should accept membership on the American Committee For The Independence of Armenia.

Your letter reaches me just as I am preparing to leave the country on official business for an indefinite absence. While I am thoroughly in sympathy with the cause, the independence of Armenia, yet as I would have no opportunity to give any service as member of the committee, I hesitate therefore to accept your invitation, but I want you to understand that I have been doing and shall continue to do everything within my power to be helpful in the relief for Armenia's Independence.

Very truly yours,
SAM GOMPERS³¹

President
American Federation of Labor.

²⁷ Rollo Ogden, American journalist, and editor of N.Y. Evening Post, and later, the N.Y. Times.

²⁸ The great president of Columbia University.

²⁹ A prominent N.Y. attorney.

³⁰ A prominent N.Y. attorney.

³¹ The great American labor leader.

Referring to your letter of the 27th ultimo, I regret that I am unable to become a member of the Committee which is now in course of formation. I have never felt justified in becoming a member of a committee whose meetings I could not attend and in whose work I could not take part, and my engagements at the present time are such it is not possible for me to add to them.

J. B. MOORE³²

I have just returned from the City of Rochester where I have been engaged before the Appellate Division of the Supreme Court and find your letter of January 4th.

I will take the pamphlet home with me tonight and shall hope to find the time to read it. When I have done so, I will reply to your letter.

ALTON R. PARKER³³

Permit me to thank you very sincerely for your friendly letter of January 4th.

You may be sure that I am in hearty accord with what Mr. Balfour wrote on October 12th: "The liberation of Armenia is one of the war aims of the Allied Powers", and with what President Wilson has said on the same subject in the 12th section of his peace programme in his speech of January 8, 1918, and in the 4th principle laid down in his address to Congress of February 11th, 1918. There can be no doubt that he will uphold these ideas in the Peace Congress.

I am extremely sorry that despite your courteous urgency I cannot see my way clear to reconsidering my decision that I cannot undertake membership on any more committees at present.

Believe me, with sincere regards,

HENRY VAN DYKE³⁴

I thank you very much for sending me a copy of "Joint Mandate Scheme" which has just reached me. I am very glad to have it.

Believe me with great respect,

Very truly yours,
SELDEN P. SPENCER³⁵

Allow me to thank you for the booklet you have sent me in regard to the Armenian situation and to assure you that I will read it with a great deal of interest.

My views on the Armenian situation and the necessity for sweeping reforms and protection for that country are well known to the public.

JAMES HAMILTON LEWIS³⁶

³² John Basset Moore, American jurist and publicist. Professor of International Law and diplomacy, and author of many historical works.

³³ N.Y. attorney and early friend of Cardashian and the Armenian cause. See previous issues of REVIEW for references to him.

³⁴ See note 25, above.

³⁵ U.S. Senator Selden P. Spencer, of Missouri, who headed the Senate Committee on Claims.

³⁶ Senator John Hamilton Lewis, of Illinois, Chairman of the Senate Comm. on Expenditures in the Department of State.

I shall be very glad indeed to serve as a member of the American Committee for the Independence of Armenia — The deepest sympathy fills my heart for these suffering peoples.

ARTHUR C. THOMSON³⁷

I duly received yours of the second of January requesting me to become a member of The American Committee For The Independence of Armenia.

I shall be delighted to serve on such Committee in accordance with your request.

LINDLEY M. GARRISON³⁸

I beg to acknowledge your favor of the 8th and assure you that I shall support the Lodge Resolution in favor of the independence of Armenia.

GEORGE P. MCLEAN³⁹

I thank you for your communication of January 9th, enclosing copy of pamphlet, "The Case of Armenia," and shall take pleasure in reading it.

WILLIAM M. CALDER⁴⁰

. . . . I read the pamphlets together with your letter the night before last and decided that it would give me great pleasure to accept the membership proposed by you.

I intended to write you yesterday morning on reaching the office, but found that unexpectedly I was compelled to go to Court at once.

With best wishes for the cause in which you are so keenly interested and with kindest regards, I am,

ALTON B. PARKER⁴¹

. . . . I have yours of recent date and thank you very much, indeed, for your most interesting pamphlet on Armenia. It contains a great deal of useful information. I am unalterably in favor of establishing Armenia upon an independent basis.

MILES POINDEXTER⁴²

. . . . I thank you very much for sending me the copy of the booklet, "Armenia's Share in the Winning of the War".

I beg to assure you that all of my sympathies are favorable to Armenia. She has suffered greatly and merits all praise for her heroic contribution to the cause of the Allies.

C. S. PAGE⁴³

³⁷ Reverend Arthur C. Thomson, Suffragan Bishop of Virginia.

³⁸ Former U.S. of War. See previous issues for references to him.

³⁹ Sen. George P. McLean, who headed the Senate Committee on Forest Reservations and the Protection of Game.

⁴⁰ Senator William M. Calder of New York.

⁴¹ See note 33, above.

⁴² Sen. Miles Poindexter, of Washington, Chairman of Committee on Indian Depredations.

⁴³ Senator Carroll S. Page, of Vermont, Chairman, Senate Committee on Transportation and Sale of Meat Products.

. . . . I esteem it a privilege and a high honor to become a member of The American Committee for the Independence of Armenia. I thank you for asking me.

I thank you also for your pamphlet on *The Case of Armenia*, which I have read from cover to cover. I trust it may have a wide circulation. It is an unanswerable presentation of Armenia's claims. Believe me, with every best wish.

WILLIAM FREDERIC FABER⁴⁴

. . . . I have given careful consideration to your letter of January fourth. Let me say that I appreciate your desire to use my name on your committee, but I dislike very much to serve on a purely nominal committee especially when a proposition of the importance of the Armenian situation is concerned. My sympathy goes out to the Armenian people in their distress, but I know so little about the real situation that I do not feel justified in allowing my name to be used in connection with the proposed committee. The purpose of your organization is a noble one, but I do not feel that I should be materially assisting that purpose by serving on the proposed committee.

F. A. VANDERLIP⁴⁵

. . . . Permit me to thank you for your very kind letter of January thirteenth, and to thank you for the compliment which you have given me in asking me to become a member of the American Committee for the Independence of Armenia. It will give me great pleasure to accept this position, although I fear that I cannot be of very much assistance to you. With best wishes

CLEVELAND H. DODGE⁴⁶

I beg to acknowledge of yours of January 1 and 11th, wherein you ask me together with the other gentlemen named to join a proposed advisory committee to give moral support for an independent Armenia. You state: "We are asking of you an absolutely and unconditionally moral aid." I do not know what you mean by this.

I will accept membership on the committee conditioned upon equal political and religious rights for all the inhabitants of united Armenia upon equal terms. I am firmly convinced to constitute new commonwealths carved out of the old autocracies it would be a criminal error to place any of the inhabitants thereof under exceptional and discriminating laws. The only way world is to give the inhabitants thereof a "square to secure peace, the peace of justice in the new deal" with full rights.

⁴⁴ Bishop William Frederic Faber, Bishop of Montana. This letter was written "On Great Northern Train 236".

⁴⁵ See note 26, above.

⁴⁶ On this prominent Armenian philanthropist, see previous issues of the Review.

I observe in the booklet you refer to; a paragraph to that effect which was contained in my letter, if I remember correctly, was omitted.

OSCAR S. STRAUSS⁴⁷

. . . . I have your request of the 13th of January, regarding the formation of an "American Committee for the Independence of Armenia." While I think an organization of this character should be confined to the Armenian residents within the United States, I am perfectly willing to permit the use of my name as a member if it can anywise aid the work to which you are committed.

C. S. THOMAS⁴⁸

. . . . I have just received your letter of January 13th, and I think you will be interested to know that the Cleveland War Chest Committee has today voted to give to the American Committee for Relief in the Near East the sum of \$130,000 each month for five months. I am a member of this committee and in entire sympathy with the decision.

My reason for saying that I did not wish to serve on your committee was that I thought it was for the purpose of raising money, and I am on so many committees for collecting funds that I feel that I have gone to the limit in asking people to give, and not because I was not interested in the work.

If being a member of the committee is simply an indication that I am interested and in sympathy with the work, nothing would give me greater pleasure than to serve on the committee, and give it all the time that I can.

MYRON T. HERRICK⁴⁹

. . . . If you believe my name can assist the Armenian movement, you are at perfect liberty to use it. I must state, however, that I am but seldom at my New York house, am not in perfect health, and have little time for meetings. And I am not familiar enough with the Armenian proposal to write satisfactorily on the topic. My feeling for the Turkey of the Young Turks is one of abhorrence, and in my time I have had many really good Armenian friends and few Turkish friends.

FREDERIC COURTLAND PENFIELD⁵⁰

You are welcome to add my name to the American Committee for the Independence of Armenia.

CHARLES W. ELIOT⁵¹

⁴⁷ Oscar Solomon Strauss, U. S. Minister to Turkey, often mentioned in the Cardashian Papers.

⁴⁸ Senator Charles S. Thomas, of Colorado, Chairman, Senate Committee on Coast Defense.

⁴⁹ Myron Timothy Herrick, American political leader, diplomat and Governor of Ohio. Later, Ambassador to France.

⁵⁰ American diplomat, and U. S. Ambassador to Austria-Hungary.

⁵¹ The great president of Harvard University.

. . . . I have yours of the tenth instant, together with booklet, entitled: "Armenia's Share in the Winning of the War." I wish to thank you for the same and assure you that I am very greatly interested in this very important subject.

I. L. LENROOT⁵²

I am glad to have your letter of January 10 with accompanying pamphlet on Armenia. It will give me great pleasure to accord this pamphlet most thorough attention, especially the page you specifically describe.

Again thanking you for the pamphlet, I am,
MORRIS SHEPPARD⁵³

. . . . Your favor of the 14th is at hand and I have written to Senator Penrose and Senator Knox as per the enclosed copy.

Trusting that at last the great opportunity for which we have hoped and prayed will be attained, I remain,

THOMAS J. GARLAND⁵⁴

I have your communication of Jan. 14th, and beg to say, that I shall be glad to use all the influence I have to further the adoption of Senator Lodge's resolution, and I am

THOM. F. GAILOR⁵⁵

. . . . I am in receipt of your letter of the 15th instant in reference to the independence of Armenia. I am in full sympathy therewith, and am confident that the proper thing will be done at the peace conference. I shall be very glad to be of assistance to any resolution to that effect.

EMERSON C. HARRINGTON⁵⁶

. . . . In reply to your good letter of January 16, I am very glad to express my approval of the cable message which you are sending to President Wilson, and trust you may receive a satisfactory reply.

CLEVELAND H. DODGE⁵⁷

. . . . I have your letter of January 13th, I agree heartily with the statement at the head of your paper which says that "The Armenians demand the redemption of their national heritage from alien rule, and its constitution into a free, self-governing and independent State of Armenia", but I am not at all sure as to whether the creation of a completely independent state *at this time* would be the best thing for your people.

It would seem necessary that Great Britain, or America, or some group of powers should not only help Armenia, but practically be responsible for guiding her government for some years to come.

(ILLEGIBLE)⁵⁸

. . . . Thank you for your note. I am glad to signify my personal approval from cablegram suggested.

BRADLEY A. FISKE⁵⁹

. . . . I duly received yours of yesterday's date enclosing copy of proposed cable message to the President in connection with the coming banquet on the eighth of February, and same has my approval.

LINDLEY M. GARRISON⁶⁰

I am communicating with our delegation in Congress along the lines you suggest in your favor of the 14th instant.

W. L. HARDING⁶¹

. . . . I have a great pressure of engagements for the weeks next ensuing and I am not sure that I shall be free to be present at the banquet that is to be given under the directions of the Armenian National Union. If you will let me know when the date has been fixed I will then make a specific report. In the meantime I am sending a message that can, if your Secretary thinks it desirable, be read at the banquet in case I am not myself able to be present.

With best wishes for the success of the cause of Independence for Armenia, I am,

GEORGE HAVEN PUTNAM⁶²

I have just received your letter and approve most heartily of your cablegram to the President.

JOHN GRIER HIBBEN⁶³

I have yours of the 18th instant, and will be very glad indeed to comply with your request.

JOHN G. MURRAY⁶⁴

I greatly regret it is impossible for me to accept your courteous invitation to speak at your proposed banquet the end of this month. The demands on my time here are such that I have to devote myself to the day's work and until the adjournment of Congress I am deprived of the

⁵² Senator Irvine L. Lenroot, of Wisconsin.

⁵³ Senator Morris Sheppard, of Texas, Chairman, U.S. Committee on the Census.

⁵⁴ Bishop of Pennsylvania.

⁵⁵ Bishop of Tennessee.

⁵⁶ Governor of Maryland.

⁵⁷ See note 46, above.

⁵⁸ See note 19, above.

⁵⁹ See note 17, above.

⁶⁰ See note 38, above.

⁶¹ Governor of Iowa.

⁶² President of the influential "The American Rights League".

⁶³ See note 23, above.

⁶⁴ Bishop of Maryland.

pleasure of accepting any invitations of this character.

With sympathetic best wishes,

WILLARD SAULSBURY⁶⁵

I should have sooner replied to your letter of the 16th inst., but was unavoidably prevented from doing so by indisposition. I see no objection to the telegram which it is proposed to send to President Wilson, and I infer that it has been already sent.

I remain,

CHARLES J. BONAPARTE⁶⁶

I have yours of the 18th inst., with enclosure which I have read with interest. I am not a member of the present session as my term does not begin until March 4th, next. For this reason, of course, I will have no voice in the matter in which you are interested.

You should take the matter up with New Jersey's present representatives in Congress.

(ILLEGIBLE)⁶⁷

Replying to yours of the 16th inst. I have to say that I entirely approve of the cable message which Judge Gerard proposes to send to the President in Paris, inviting him to cable a message to be read at the banquet held by the American Committee for the Independence of Armenia on the 8th of February.

JACOB GOULD SCHURMAN⁶⁸

I have your letter of the 14th, in regard to the resolution offered by Senator Lodge in favor of the independence of Armenia, and asking that I urge our Senators to vote for this measure. I will take pleasure in doing so and hope the bill will go through Congress.

With best wishes, I am,

SIDNEY J. CATTS⁶⁹

I deeply regret to be compelled to advise you that I cannot be present in person at the banquet on February 8th. An earlier and important speaking engagement for that evening prevents. You have my profound wish for the success of the gathering and for the early triumph of the cause of a free and self-governing Armenia.

NICHOLAS MURRAY BUTLER⁷⁰

It affords me a great deal of pleasure to comply with your request, as contained in your com-

munication of January the 14th. I hope that Armenia is given independence.

H. M. DARSE⁷¹

I am in receipt of your letter of January 8, in reference to the independence of Armenia. I sympathize with your aims and shall be glad to confer with my colleagues to advance the cause of your stricken country.

JAMES D. PHELAN⁷²

Your letter of the 14th instant, addressed to Williamstown, is before me. While I have the greatest sympathy with the Armenians and understand their desire for independence, it seems to me advisable, in view of my present relation to the government, that I be not included as a member of the American Committee.

H. FAIRFIELD⁷³

I am obliged to you for your very kind invitation to be a member of The American Committee for the Independence of Armenia. I sympathize very fully with the avowed purposes of that Committee; but I already belong to so many committees and associations that I have felt compelled to put a limit upon my activities and decline further membership.

ELIHU ROOT⁷⁴

. . . . I have just received your very kind invitation to speak at the dinner which the American Committee are holding at the Hotel Plaza on February 8th. I wish that I could respond favorably to your request, but I have a very important engagement that day which keeps me in Princeton. I am expecting to meet here a number of men who are coming from a distance for a conference which is to last all day. This makes it impossible of course of me to be present.

With warmest regards and best wishes for the success of your gathering, believe me,

JOHN GRIER HIBBEN⁷⁵

I have yours of the 27th instant. I should very much like to come to your meeting on February 8th, but I have to be in Buffalo that day and will not return until the following morning. At some other meeting or dinner I shall be glad to come and speak.

ABRAHAM ELKUS⁷⁶

⁶⁵ Senator Willard Saulsbury, Chairman of Pacific Islands and Puerto Rico.

⁶⁶ See note 21, above.

⁶⁷ Governor of New Jersey in 1919.

⁶⁸ See note 24, above.

⁶⁹ Governor of Florida.

⁷⁰ See note 28, above.

⁷¹ Governor of Georgia.

⁷² Senator James D. Phelan, of California, Chairman, Committee on Irrigation and Reclamation of Arid Lands.

⁷³ President of Williams College, and in 1919, Head of the U.S. Fuel Administration, in Washington.

⁷⁴ The great American attorney.

⁷⁵ See note 23 and 63, above.

⁷⁶ The American attorney.

. . . . Your letter of January 28th is at hand, and I certainly should be glad if it were possible for me to do what you ask. But as I already have engagements which require me to be on a speaking tour in Boston on February 8th, I regret extremely that I cannot be at the Banquet of the American Committee for the Independence of Armenia in New York on that day. I hope that it will be a successful meeting.

HENRY VAN DYKE⁷⁷

. . . . I have yours of January 16th. My whole heart goes out to the Armenian people. I have gladly signed the note to the President which you enclosed for my signature and enclose it herewith.

I am, with every expression of regard,
JOHN SHARP WILLIAMS⁷⁸

. . . . I appreciate more than I can tell you your very kind letter of January twenty-eighth, and I wish with all my heart that I could attend the banquet on February eighth. Unfortunately, however, I have made all my plans to go away out of town at that time for a much needed rest, both for myself and Mrs. Dodge, and I very much fear it will be impossible.

Congratulating you upon the more hopeful outlook for your people.

CLEVELAND H. DODGE⁷⁹

⁷⁷ See notes 25 and 34 above.

⁷⁸ Senator John Sharp Williams, of Mississippi, Chairman, Committee on the Library. He was a good friend of the Armenians.

⁷⁹ See notes 46 and 57, above.
ible for me to attend. If I find later that my plans have changed, I will gladly let you know.

I am honored by your invitation to attend as one of the principal speakers the dinner on February 8th under the auspices of the Armenian National Union, and regret very much that I cannot give myself the pleasure of accepting. As I have telegraphed you today, I have been confined to the house for several days with a slight illness, and this indisposition with the accumulated strain of recent strenuous months now requires me to go away for a rest.

MYRON T. HERRICK⁸⁰

. . . . I have yours of the 30th inst., and I cannot alter my determination not to become a member of any committee or organization to the work of which I cannot devote some personal attention. I am sure you will appreciate my reason for this rule and accordingly excuse me.

(ILLEGIBLE)

Replying to your letter of the 30th instant I beg to say that I shall be very glad to become a member of the American Committee for the Independence of Armenia, and to do what I can to further the work of the Committee.

Thanking you for your kindness, I am,
EMERSON C HARRINGTON⁸²

⁸⁰ See note 49, above.

⁸¹ See note 67, above.

⁸² See note 56, above.

(To be continued)

HISTORY OF ARMENIA

HRAND PASDERMAJIAN

CHAPTER II

THE WINNING OF ARMENIA'S INDEPENDENCE

Armenia and the Empire of the Medes

It is not the eleventh hour speech which turns man into a conqueror. It is the institutions and the mores which slowly make men worthy of conquest.

— XENOPHON

 It took the newcomers, namely the Indo-European Armenians, scarcely one or two centuries to establish their domination over the land. As a matter of fact the Assyrian Empire which until then had always posed as a dangerous yet almost always contained enemy of the Armenians from the south, was destroyed at the end of the Seventh Century by the combined Medo-Chaldean forces. According to Moses of Khorene an Armenian prince named Barour took part in the capture of Nineveh and was elevated to the rank of king by the Medes in reward of his services.

Later the victors founded two new and distinct empires, the Medes the Median Empire which included Iran and the present day Kurdistan, and the Chaldeans, the Chaldean Empire (also called the Second Babylonian Empire) which extended over Mesopotamia, Syria and present day Palestine. In this partition Armenia entered

into the domain of the Medes and it seems that for a few years (probably 590-559 B.C.) the Medes succeeded in establishing their supremacy over them. The Armenians soon recovered their independence and Xenophon writes that their king was an ally of Cyrus.

Armenia and the Persian Empire

The Median Empire soon gave way or was converted, to be precise, into the Persian Empire. Cyrus, the chief of the Persians who paid tribute to the Medes, became master of the Median Empire in the 6th century B.C., and successively conquering Asia Minor and Mesopotamia, founded the Persian or Acheamenid Empire. Cyrus' son Cambyses added Egypt to his empire.

Cambyses was succeeded by Darius I, son of Hystaspes, who had been a counsellor of Cyrus. Under his rule the Persian Empire became the greatest political establishment which the world had known until that time. It was he who conquered Armenia and Turkestan and pushed the frontiers of his immense possessions as far as India.

The name of Armenia is mentioned for

the first time in history on the famous cuneiform inscription of Darius Hystaspes, 529 B.C. at Behistun (I conquered Armenia, Pontus). It was thus that Armenia made her debut in world history in the 6th century, the period when mankind is considered to have entered its adolescence. This is the century when, in the West, the Roman monarchy was converted into the republic and Greek philosophy shot out its first roots. In the Middle East it is the period of the great Hebrew prophets. In India it is the century of Buddha, in China, of Confucius.

In the Behistun inscription where the King of Kings speaks of his exploits, he says that he waged bloody wars with the Armenians and he mentions the Battles of Zura, Tigra and Uyama. The indicated places show that the Armenians did better than defending themselves and pushed the war into the enemy's territory.

Darius first invaded Armenia with an army which the Armenians repulsed and, taking the offensive, moved the war into Assyria.¹ Darius was compelled to send a second army to break the Armenian resistance. As Gray and Cary have pointed out, of all the countries conquered by Darius it was Armenia which offered the longest and stiffest resistance (the war lasted twelve months).²

"These few lines inscribed on the Behistun Rock by the enemy," writes Jacques de Morgan, "are entirely to the credit of the Armenian nation. They show this people, two centuries after their settling the land, a regularly constituted State, conscious of sufficient strength to dare to cross swords with the cohorts of the Immortals. Perhaps also this uprising was a coalition of the northern peoples seeking to compel Darius

to raise the siege of Babylon. In any case, the campaign of Vaumises and the way his undertaking terminated, place Armenia at the end of the 6th century B.C. in the position of a Power playing a very important part in the general political life of the East."³

These wars ended with the conquest of Armenia as part of the Persian Empire, that immense political state which, under Darius I, extended from the Hellespont (The Straits) to India, Egypt and the Caucasus.

Armenia in the Persian Empire

During the succeeding two centuries, 5th and 4th B.C., until the destruction of the Persian Empire under the blows of Alexander the Great, Armenia was a province or satrapy of this vast political State. It is interesting, therefore, to cast a glance at its internal organization.

The organizing genius of Cyrus and Darius early comprehended that such a vast sprawling empire could be governed, or administered, only by the principle of a broad decentralization. The greater part of the conquered countries became provinces or satrapies and Armenia was one of these countries. They enjoyed broad autonomy and were ruled either by the kings of their national dynasties or by Satraps (Governor-generals) who were chosen by these dynasties.

In this respect the title of King of Kings with which the Persian emperors invested themselves is highly significant. They reigned not only on one kingdom but on other kings who paid them tribute and supplied contingents to the Empire's army.

During this entire period, while being governed by the Satraps of the national

¹ Gray and Cary, *The Reign of Darius*, Cambridge, Ancient History, Vol. IV, p. 178.

² Gary and Cary, p. 180.

³ Jacques de Morgan, *Histoire du Peuple arménien*, Paris, 1919, p. 57. See also C. F. Lehmann-Haupt, *Armenien Einst und Jetzt*, Berlin, 1926, II, p. 1661.

royal dynasty, Armenia seems to have enjoyed a broad range of autonomy. Thus testifies Xenophon who, during the Retreat of the Ten Thousand in the 5th century, passed through Armenia. His history gives precious information in regard to the land, the people and their customs.

Xenophon describes the arrival of his army at the Plain of Mouch, after an arduous passage over the mountains which constitute the present day Kurdistan, and he relates how they found there "all sort of excellent bounties — cattle, grain, delicious vintage wines, and all sort of grapes and vegetables." He also writes: "The horses of this land are smaller than the Persian horses but they are more stout-hearted." Only he who knows the Armenian plateau and its mountains will understand the meaning of the piteous cry of the Ten Thousand in the words of the *Anabasis*; Thalatta, Thalatta! (the sea, the sea!)

The Armenians naturally were forced to supply their contingents to the King of king's army. Herodotus mentions the presence of an Armenian corps in the army of Xerxes when the Great King crossed the Hellespont during the Median wars against the Greeks. During the campaign of Alexander the Great, according to Quinte-Gurce, the Armenians supplied to Darius III Codomannus a force of 40,000 infantry and 7,000 cavalry.* At the decisive battle of Gaugamela (Arbela) the Armenian cavalry formed the right wing of the King of kings' army⁴

The Armenians meanwhile were one of those exceptional conquered peoples on whom the Persians drew for their generals.

While the Persians utilized the contingents of various peoples, they nevertheless entrusted the command of their armies only to the Persians and the Medes. Gray and Cary reveal that out of the eight generals mentioned on the Behistun Rock one was an Armenian.⁵

From the economic standpoint it might be stressed that the King of kings attached great importance to the irrigation of the countries they conquered. One of the principal tasks, it seems, was this, for the economic possibilities of the various regions, their capacity to pay their tribute, depended directly on the development of their irrigation systems.⁶ In this respect the Achaemenids were far more far-sighted than other conquerors of Armenia, especially the Turanians. As Kevork Aslan aptly has noted, the two centuries of Persian domination over Armenia was a period of development, well being and prosperity.⁷

In regard to Armenia's tribute Herodotus informs us that Armenia, the 13th Satrapy, supplied the King of kings an annual tribute of 50 talents, as well as natural products which in the case of Armenia meant her excellent horses, made possible by her unexcelled animal husbandry. According to Strabo Armenia paid to the King of kings an annual tribute of 20,000 colts.⁸

The inhabitants of Armenia, the heirs of Urartu, were also noted for their productive capacity. In Herodotus' work we find the following reference to their manufacturing ability: "I wish to speak of another marvel — those boats with which they navigate to Babylon. The trunk of these boats which are round shaped is made of

* Darius Codomannus was Satrap of Armenia before his accession to the throne. He governed the land with justice, thus gaining the affection of the Armenian people who showed their gratitude by their devotion to his cause.

⁴ W. Tarn, *Alexander, The Conquest of Persia*, Cambridge Ancient History, IV, p. 280.

⁵ Gray and Cary, p. 80.

⁶ A. Sorian, *Die Soziale Gliederung des armenischen Volkes*, Berlin, 1925.

⁷ Kevork Aslan, *Etudes historique sur le peuple arménien*, Paris, 1928, p. 70.

⁸ Strabo, Book XI, 14, 9.

willow wood, tightly held together with animal hide."⁹

The Epic of Alexander the Great and Its Repercussions on Armenia

In the 4th century B.C. the grandiose political edifice represented by the Persian Empire which had sustained its first shock as a result of the reverses suffered in the wars for the conquest of Greece and later had been weakened by dynastic troubles collapsed under the blows of the genius of Alexander the Great. Alexander had inherited from his father (King Philip of Macedon) a magnificent army, the famous Macedonian Phalanx which was the first infantry endowed with the capacity for flexibility, adroit maneuver and obedience to a single will, and a cavalry which, with its rigid formations, was capable of inflicting coordinated charges.

Heading this unique force, his son Alexander embarked in 334 on the soil of Asia Minor and after a series of major engagements (Granicus, Issus and Gaugamela — Arbela), became master of the entire Persian Empire.

The wars of Alexander the Great had two results of major consequence for Armenia. First of all, directly or indirectly, they contributed to the first period of Armenia's independence; second, for the first time being they put Armenia in touch with Greek civilization under the form of "Hellenism."

The principles of this civilization were entirely different, we might say the exact opposite of the principles of Eastern civilization which had been represented by Egypt, Chaldea and Iran. Having been emancipated from the traditions of theocratic despotism of eastern societies, hu-

man life was now controlled not by the dictates of instinct but by the deliberate rationalization of the mind.¹⁰

The First Armenian Independence (322 - 215 B.C.)

Formerly it was held by the historians that there was a brief period of Macedonian domination in Armenia (330-315), it is generally admitted now, however, that Armenia was one of those rare segments of the Persian Empire which, thanks to its geographic position, topographic structure, and the militant spirit of the natives, was not conquered by Alexander the Great.

"Alexander," writes Torn, "sent Mithrines to Armenia as Satrap but that country was never conquered."¹¹ "Alexander's heirs were forced to abandon the myth of founding an Armenian Satrapy," the same author continues later, "because that country had become independent under a royal dynasty which had been founded by Orontes, the former Satrap of Darius the Third."¹²

In fact, the collapse of the Persian Empire under the blows of Alexander the Great paved the way for the first period of Armenia's independence. The former conqueror disappeared. The new conqueror, Alexander, had no time to consolidate his domination in this mountainous country which was difficult to control. His heirs who divided the empire among themselves could launch on a venture which only the genius of their chief could accomplish. On the other hand they were too busy quarreling among themselves over the partition of the loot to find time for expanding their gains.

¹⁰ Fougere et Lesquier, *Les Premières Civilisations*, Paris, 1926, p. 429.

¹¹ W. Tarn, Alexander, *Cambridge Ancient History*, Vol. VI, p. 83.

¹² W. Tarn, *The Heritage of Alexander*, *Cambridge Ancient History*, Vol. VI, p. 464.

⁹ Herodotus, Book I, 194.

We see the accession of an Armenian royal dynasty in Armenia as early as 322 B.C. This was founded by King Orontes I (Hrand or Ervand). About the middle of the 4th century there had been a Satrap revolt against the Persians, which proves that Armenia was striving for independence.¹³ But that movement had failed. In the wars against Alexander Armenia fulfilled her duty to the Empire and her contingents fought alongside the Persian armies. After the downfall of the Persian Empire Orontes took advantage of the occasion to proclaim himself independent monarch.

The origin and history of this dynasty are shrouded in obscurity. Probably the dynasty stemmed from satraps of Armenian or Iranian origin who ruled Armenia in the final days of the empire. Kings Artavazd and Orontes II were successors of Orontes.

The history of the first independence of Armenia is marked by a series of wars which she waged against her powerful neighbor the Seleucid Empire. For a full century (The Third Century B.C.) Armenia successfully repelled the latter's inroads and it was only in 215 that she was conquered and occupied by the Seleucids for a brief period (215 - 190).

The Seleucid Empire

A few explanations are necessary to define the nature of this empire and to give a digest of its development and decline. In fact, even though Armenia suffered a brief period of 25 year bondage under the Seleucids, nevertheless that empire and its successor Kingdom of Syria played an important role in the history of the East.

In 324, after the death of Alexander the Great, his generals divided the Empire

among themselves. Antigonus took Macedonia, Ptolemy took Egypt where he founded a dynasty after his name, and a third general, Seleucus, seized the lion's share — Iran, Asia Minor, Syria and Mesopotamia. Armenia should have fallen under the domain of Seleucus but as we have seen she declared her independence under a national dynasty. Seleucus consolidated his domains in a vast empire. He founded the City of Antioch which became his capital and one of the richest cities of the East.

His successors in the 3rd century in vain tried to extend their rule over Armenia which defended herself successfully. Besides, the Seleucids lost a part of Asia Minor. Bithynia (present day Ismidt) and Pergamus (northern section of present day Smyrna) became independent, and later, also Iran where the Parthian Dynasty was founded.

The Seleucid Empire was almost exclusively restricted to Syria when, in 222, an ambitious king, Antiochus II the Great ascended the throne. He followed a policy of imperialism and succeeded in conquering Armenia.

Antiochus divided Armenia into two parts: Major Armenia (the real Armenia comprising the east of the Euphrates) and Minor Armenia (west of the Euphrates). In each region he appointed a Governor-General (Satrap or Strategos), chosen from among the princes of the nobility, Artaxias (Artashes) over Major Armenia and Zariades (Zareh) over Armenia Minor. The latter was a scion of Orontes I (Hrand or Ervand) which we have already mentioned as the first royal dynasty to rule over Armenia.

Antiochus the Great was not satisfied with the acquisition of Armenia alone. (Palestine) and after a disastrous campaign against Egypt, he marched on Asia Minor and conquered the land. Rome, after

¹³ W. Tarn, *Ibid*, p. 104.

the final conquest of Carthage, viewed with apprehension the rise of this new rival power which seemed bent on dominating the East.

When Antiochus conquered Asia Minor, the Romans who had considered the region as their sphere of influence attacked Antiochus and decisively defeated him at the Battle of Magnesia in 190. The defeat put an end to Antiochus' empire forcing him to content himself with the kingdom of Syria.

Armenia Recovers Her Independence

Upon the defeat of Antiochus the Governor of Armenia Major (the region of present day Erzeroum, Mouch, Van and Erivan) proclaimed himself King of Armenia in 190 B.C. under the title of Artashes I. At the same time the Governor of Armenia Minor Zariades (Zareh) likewise proclaimed his independence and founded a second kingdom consisting of Sebastia, Erzinka and Malatia.

It seems that Rome was instrumental in the formation of these two kingdoms.¹⁴ Ferrero says it was during this period that Rome started to inaugurate and perfect a policy of military intervention and political intrigue, designed to weaken the great powers of the East by inciting or pitting them one against another.¹⁵ Fearing a return of Seleucid kings in Syria, Rome found it preferable to counter that state with the recreation of an independent Armenia.

Thus, according to Cicero, Antiochus after his defeat had received instructions from Rome to confine his state to Taurus in the north, a condition which would contribute to the creation, or the resurrection, to be precise, of an independent Armenia.

The Artaxiat Dynasty

By his ascension to the throne Artashes I founded a new dynasty which was to rule Armenia from 190 to I B.C. — the period in which Armenia attained her greatest power. Artashes successfully defended Armenia against the frequent inroads of the Seleucids. As a wise statesman he did his best to weaken their power. When Timarque the Governor of Media (present Persian Azerbaijan) revolted against the Seleucids, Artashes sent an army to help him to become an independent prince.

Artashes also waged war against the Albanians (the inhabitants of present Azerbaijan), drove them to the left bank of the Kour and expanded the boundaries of Armenia. Having taken prisoner the son of the Albanian king, the latter sent her daughter Satenik to intercede for the liberation of her brother and for the peace. Artashes fell in love with Satenik and married her.¹⁶ Artashes also endowed the Iberian (Georgians) with a royal dynasty, placing on their throne one of his relatives.

Artashes also founded a new city on the banks of the Araxes (not far from present Erivan) which he named Artashat after his name and which became the capital of Armenia.

In observance of the law of granting political asylum Artashes received into Armenia the famous Carthaginian General Hannibal who had been forced to flee the court of Antiochus the Great when the latter was defeated by the Romans. Hannibal then crossed to Bithynia (a Greek kingdom in the region of Ismidt) where he committed suicide in 183 when the king of that country, afraid of the Romans, was preparing to deliver to them the great adversary of Rome.

¹⁴ Polybius.

¹⁵ Ferrero, *Grandeur et Decadence de Rome*, Paris, Vol. I, p. 26.

¹⁶ Moses of Khorene.

This relation between Hannibal and the kingdom of Armenia assumes great significance when we compare it with the alliance between Mithridates and Tigranes in the following century. Thus Armenia gave asylum to both persons who, by the power of their genius, became the most formidable adversaries of Rome and who, at an interval of 100 years, put a terrific pressure on Rome, one from the west and the other from the east; the first took refuge in Armenia at the twilight of his life, and the other found a powerful ally in the person of Tigranes. This rapprochement is enough to show the important and lasting role which Armenia played in history during the decisive centuries of Roman expansion.

Plutarch relates that it was Hannibal who first suggested to Artashes, and later directed the construction of the City of Artashat. "It is said that when Antiochus was defeated by the Romans, Hannibal went to Artashes, King of Armenia, to whom he taught many useful things. Among other things, seeing a beautiful and strategic site in this country, he drew up the plan of a city. He then led Artashes to the site and advised him to build a city there. This counsel was agreeable to the King and he asked Hannibal to take charge of the construction. Thus was built a great and beautiful city which was called after the King's name and which was declared the capital of Armenia."¹⁷

In the words of Paul Rohrbach, "The great Carthaginian who pursued by Roman hatred had been forced to flee the fatherland, built this city for an Asian king in gratitude of the hospitality he had received and in the hope of strengthening a future adversary of Rome."¹⁸

¹⁷ Plutarch, *Lucullus*.

¹⁸ Paul Rohrbach, *In Turan und Armenien*, Berlin, 1898, p. 186.

The reign of Artashes I lasted from 190 to 159 B.C. His successors, until Tigranes II the Great, were Artavazd I (159-149), Tigranes I (149-123) and Artavazd II (123-94).

Like his predecessor, Artavazd I was a great builder. A man of stern character, he incurred the hostility of the nobility, no doubt for his harsh enforcement of discipline in the interests of the public welfare. It is said he was assassinated. Tigranes I was a lover of the chase, feasting and revelry.

The reign of these kings was a period of growth, prosperity and consolidation for the Armenian state. These kings were forced to wage a series of wars chiefly against the Seleucids and then the Parthians whose strength had become apparent in the south of Armenia. The Armenian kings emerged victorious from these wars, retaining the independence of their country.

Strabo who writes that the reign of Artashes I was marked by wars also seems to indicate that during this entire period Armenia was sustained by Roman diplomacy which, always realistic, held no grudge toward Armenia for having offered asylum to Hannibal, but on the contrary, by strengthening Armenia, she tried to check the probable growth of the power of the Seleucid kings.

These kings who succeeded one another during the second century B.C. were the true welders of the Armenian state. They defended the newly-formed kingdom against the neighboring incursions and consolidated it into an homogeneous, powerful and prosperous state. They paved the way for Tigranes the Great.

Armenia Minor

During these two centuries (third and second centuries B.C.) the Kingdom of Armenia Minor lived side by side with Armenia Major. From among her kings we might

mention Mithridates (not to be confused with Mithridates Eupator, King of Pontus, of whom we shall speak in our next chapter), who became the ally of Pharnaces I of Pontus and aided him in the capture of Sinope on the Black Sea. Mithridates had designs on Cappadocea (the region of Caesarea) but his plans clashed with the pretensions of Rome supported by her friend and ally the King of Pergamus.

As we shall see, the Kingdom of Armenia Minor was finally taken over by Tigranes and Mithridates Eupator who divided the country between themselves, resulting in the annexation of the southern half (the region of Kharberd) to Major Armenia.

The First Lessons of History

At the threshold of a new phase of the history of Armenia which is about to open with Tigranes the Great, as we cast a glance at the first period of Armenian history, the thing which first attracts our attention is her antiquity. Here is a nation which has preserved its existence to this day, a nation whose ancestors bore the same name, spoke the same language (even if modified somewhat by foreign influences), a nation which has infiltrated the history of empires and civilizations whose memory is lost in the mists of antiquity.

According to the Russian writer Valery Brussov, "The Armenian people made its appearance on the scene of history at a period when not only the nations of modern Europe did not exist, but even the oldest peoples of the classical era were just

making their debut in history."

In fact Haik and his people emerge on the scene of history at the very period when Rome was being founded (Seventh century B.C.). At the time when the Median Empire, and later the Persian Empire, were ruling the East, we find the Armenian people waging their first national struggle, winning broad autonomy under the leadership of national Satraps. Then, as a result of Alexander the Great's wondrous adventures, Armenia came to know the first century of her independence, as well as her initial venture in Hellenistic culture.

But this does not mean that Armenia won her independence as a gift, without doing something about it, or to be worthy of it. The Armenian independence was won and defended by fierce fights against the neighboring kingdoms, especially the Seleucids and the Parthians, wars in which the Armenian people clearly demonstrated their ability to win their independence, but at the same time knew how to profit from Roman diplomacy.

As Mommsen observes, of all the countries which came into existence as a result of the downfall of the Seleucid Empire (Armenia, Cappadocea, Media, Sophene, Osroene, etc.), Armenia was the one which, under the powerful impulse of the Artaxiat Dynasty, attained to the highest degree of stability, development and power.¹⁹

¹⁹ Mommsen, *Römische Geschichte*, Berlin, 1919, Vol. II, p. 58.

● PART VI – CONCLUSION:

THE FEBRUARY 18, 1921 ARMENIAN REVOLT

THE MEMOIRS OF COMPANY COMMANDER MARDIROS OF BASHKIARNI

YERVAND HAYRAPETIAN

Toward evening Kouro and I came to Kharobay Keotanlu and at 8 P.M. arrived at Bashkiarni.

We first went to the Office of the Committee for the Deliverance of the Fatherland where we found Simon Vratzian, H. Ohandjanian, and H. Kachaznouni. Kouro gave his report on the divisions of Sumbat and Kharobay.

The minute we were seated I started nodding sleepily. I only got this much that they had appointed me chief of the fortification of the town and the region of Bashkiarni.

Although the greater part of the discussion concerned my future activities and I was doing my best to repel my sleep, I nevertheless was quite helpless. At the suggestion of Dr. Ohandjanian they sent me home for some rest, to be ready for action in the morning.

I do not know how I ever managed to go home where I fell asleep. In the morning, however, I immediately hastened to the Office of the Committee of Deliverance where a new meeting was in session. Garo Sassouni was the first to speak. "Let Martiros tell us," he said, "how many soldiers he needs to defend Bashkiarni."

I was surprised at the question. How could I tell how much of a force I would

need when I was ignorant of the enemy's equipment and numerical power? But Garo was insistent. He wanted to know how many soldiers I would need to defend Bashkiarni.

"How should I know?" I persisted. "Suppose I said one thousand, what would be the gain of this conference?"

"Very well," Garo replied firmly, "you pick one thousand from our forces on hand and go defend Bashkiarni, so that the refugees can move on."

I wanted an explanation but Garo would not be moved. "All right, Martiros, Bashkiarni will give you one thousand, you pick another two thousand from the other divisions and with your three thousand defend Bashkiarni."

I was completely befuddled. If it was a case of recapturing Erivan, I thought, I could persuade the natives of Bashkiarni to exert superhuman efforts as I had done at the start of the revolt. But there was no question of recapturing Erivan. Erivan was in our hands. Why then should I risk the fate of Bashkiarni simply because the civil, military and political leaders wanted to desert the city? Would the natives of Bashkiarni risk the hadzards of a new war as well as the fate of their town?

I was deep in thought and was oblivious

to the discussion around me when Simon Vratzian left the room, I don't know which, whether he was exasperated or wanted to retire to think out a solution for an apparent plight. Kachaznouni was equally angry at my silence. "Martiros, you are ignoring our presence and don't want to answer our questions," he chided me. He too left the room.

Finally I turned to Garo Sassouni, "So you want to leave us," I said fiercely, "and leave Bashkiarni and her heroic sons in the lurch, the same people who have sacrificed the most and gave the greatest number of victims in this entire movement. Either all of us will stay, and face the enemy together with the natives of Bashkiarni, or taking with us the endangered units of Bashkiarni, we shall cover the retreat, leaving the natives of the region to capitulate to the Bolsheviks."

Garo was offended and he too withdrew, leaving me all alone. Shortly afterwards Thaddeosian came to me from Vratzian and said, "Comrade Martiros, Comrade Vratzian wants to know if we all stay here and continue the fight, how long can Bashkiarni keep us with food supplies?"

Having asked Thaddeosian for a little time I at once summoned the prominent citizens of Bashkiarni and laid before them Vratzian's proposition, plan.

I then went to Kouro to report to him and to consult with him about what we had to do next. Kouro ordered that my chief of staff Captain K. Sayatian and Captain S. Kotanchian should summon all the men capable of bearing arms to the church yard to be registered. I had the assurance of Garo Sassouni that Chanatlu, Avdalar and Voghchabert were held by our men. The fact of the matter is, on the morning of April 4 when these men had marched to seize those positions, some 3 to 4 kilometers

from the town, they had been intercepted by the enemy divisions.

Informed about the situation at 10:30 in the morning I instantly hastened with my aides to the front. A short distance from the village along the road to Erivan, toward the road to Ghamarlu, I saw that our troops were retreating from the Hill of Bamurganotz. I wheeled about and drove my horse toward the retreating warriors, forced them to turn back and asked them the cause of the retreat.

I was informed that the battalion was under the command of one Murad Khan in whose unknown absence his aide, Lieutenant Khachatrian, had charge. The latter's cowardice was responsible for the retreat. The information was supplied to me by a soldier named Aghachan. After returning the battalion to their position, I appointed Aghachan as commander until the return of Murad Khan.

Presently there arrived the battalion of Surmalu, Khunko with his 200 riders and the Students' Guard of Erivan. I ordered Khunko to turn his cavalry force over to Lieutenant Mesrob Arakelian while he took the command of the entire front. The united battalions of Murad Khan and Surmalu advanced toward the enemy while the cavalry advanced on the enemy vanguard.

Having given the necessary orders to Khunko I turned back with my aides toward the road to Erivan. Some 5 to 6 kilometers from the town of Bashkiarni the regiments of Nork and Bashkiarni were engaging the enemy from their positions on the heights of the road between Voghchabert and Gourbaghalu. The regiment of Nork was commanded by Theodoros Khanzadian and Haik Sarkisian while the battalion of Akhtay and the regiment of Bashkiarni was commanded by Colonel Sarkisian.

We forced the enemy to retreat to the

heights between Ghourbaghalu and Tezkharab, and later to the heights between Avtalar and Tezkharb. Toward nightfall, after two more assaults, we had forced the enemy to the heights of Shoghbulaq. In this entire offensive our casualties were 10 killed and wounded from the regiment of Nork, and 6 from the regiment of Bashkiarni.

When darkness fell Colonel Sarkisian had seized Voghchabert with a loss of 5-6 killed and wounded while Khunko had advanced as far as the ledge of Davabouyn. To his right, the unit of Murad Khan had fortified itself in the Village of Bitticha.

It was my intention, with the aid of some Bashkiarni forces, to attack Eriwan (which had been recaptured by the enemy) in the morning. I had even developed in my mind a detailed plan for the concerted attack. Sarkisian was to enter the city by way of Nork, my units were to advance via the heights of Shoghbala and Tokhmakh Geol, Khunko was to force the enemy toward Eriwan from the rear of Ghamarlu while Murad Khan was to join forces with Khunko.

As I was mulling over this plan the best positions and the heights commanding Eriwan from Chanatlu to Voghchabert were occupied by my forces. I issued the necessary orders for the attack to Colonel Sarkisian, Murad Khan and Khunko, but presently I received an order from our Commander-in-chief Kouro to return at once to Bashkiarni. Having appointed Colonel Sarkisian commander of the units of Avdalar and Voghchabert, I returned to Bashkiarni.

During the abovementioned engagements the enemy had suffered serious casualties, most of whom were Russians.

Upon my arrival at Bashkiarni I explained my plan of attack to Kouro who, without hesitation, opposed it. "With these

forces we cannot recapture Eriwan," he said, "and we shall suffer needless loss of lives. You, dear Martiros, sit in your office and direct the battle with your orders."

I tried to convince him of the futility of directing a war from an office chair and the necessity of the presence of the commander in the battle. I cited the case of poor Sumbat whose absence from the battle front due to his illness cost us the recapture of Vedi.

All the same I was forced to submit to my orders and remain at Bashkiarni, developing a plan of defense, I issued the necessary orders to all the units of Bashkiarni, to Colonel Sarkisian and to Khunko.

On April 5 the enemy took the offensive and advanced toward Djatghran and Kotaik but they were repulsed by our forces and were pursued as far as Aramous. On April 6, by order of the Committee for the Deliverance of the Fatherland, to clear the battle front of non-combatants, the intellectuals, accompanied by a rear guard battalion, were to proceed to Mili Tarayish Keolasor, Aghasi-Beklu, Turki-Keshishkiant, Armik and Kiamishlu, from here they were to ascend the top of the hill and then proceed to Taralakiaz. The rearguard was to clear the paths of snow and other obstacles. For this purpose I appointed Ohachan Israelian, a ranger for long years of the Forests of Chghunkara who was familiar with all the terrain, as scout to accompany the refugee intellectuals.

On April 6, after the noon meal, the reinforced enemy repulsed our forces of the Kotaik and occupied the entire mountain range called Kirney between Kotaik and Bashkiarni, including the Karageozei summit which commanded Bashkiarni. I at once arranged that Artoush, supported by the two regiments of Trubayev and Bashkiarni, attack and recapture the Summit. I ordered the two field cannon of Bash-

kiarni to shell the Summit. Unfortunately these cannon had only six shells left, three of which were fired and the remaining three were kept as an inviolate treasure for the future.

The same day I received a report that our forces of Voghchabert and Avtalar (under Colonel Sarkisian) likewise were retreating before the onslaught of superior enemy forces. I ordered Captain S. Kotanchian at once to lead all our reserve units to the heights of Khachkar on the north of Bashkiarni, at a distance of 3 to 4 kilometers from the town, while I took the road to Erivan accompanied by my aides. At the Hill of Medztem I came across Col. Sarkisian's units who were retreating pell mell even though the enemy was some 3 kilometers away. I stopped the retreat and reorganized the broken units at Medztem whose rocky structure was admirably suited for defense. I also seized the deep basin of a stream which ran parallel with the road at the base of the Hill of Medztem.

Soon afterwards Captain Kotanchian joined me. By this time the enemy opposite us was in command from Teghin-Tar to the upper heights of Pichnaks. A close inspection of the enemy position revealed to me that there was a road leading to the rear. Lacking a suitable man for this operation, I left my command to Captain Kotanchian and myself assumed the responsibility of leading the rear attack. Unseen by the enemy I seized the rocky heights of Chutbatan, having ordered Kotanchian and Sarkissian to attack the enemy from the front the minute they heard my barrage.

The sun was setting when I arrived at the rear of the enemy. Taken by surprise by our firing, the enemy started to flee in panic. At that moment the enemy fired three rockets from the right which I supposed were either intended for a general retreat or a mass offensive. Meanwhile

Colonel Sarkisian and Captain Kotanchian, impressed by the rockets, had pulled their forces back to Bashkiarni, leaving me stranded at the enemy rear.

From the heights of my position I could clearly see the retreat of our troops. I had no other recourse but to fight my way back along the road which I had used. Darkness fell and there was a drizzle of rain. Steadily falling back, I arrived at the creek of Pushanotz. The enemy was now advancing on the vacated position of Sarkisian and Kotanchian. At the creek we came face to face with the enemy and the two forces were merged in the ensuing melee.

Suspecting that some soldiers of the battalion might betray me to save their skin, I separated myself from the battalion, withdrew to the creek and hid behind a rock, watching the battalion. The latter willingly surrendered to the enemy and a few, taking advantage of the darkness, flew to safety in various directions.

I finally made the town of Bashkiarni soaking wet. Unfortunately I had left my aides and my horse with Kotanchian. Upon my arrival at the village I hastened to my office where I found Captain Kotanchian and Artoush. The latter reported that all our troops had fled. At the village were Khunko's cavalry unit, the horsemen of Surmalu (25) under the leadership of Aristages Kanayan and Vaghinak Asoyan, and the students' guard, nothing more. The latter two units were holding Khachkar.

The enemy had drawn an iron ring from the heights of Tem to the road to Gharmalu. I sent Khunko's cavalry to occupy Khachkar and order the return of the Surmalu riders and the students' guard. I sent the latter two units to Taralakiaz under Kotanchian, then recalled Khunko's company back to the village, preparatory to our departure. The Committee for the Deliver-

ance of the Fatherland, its President and the director of military operations, as well as the Commander-in-chief, already had left the village.

When Khunko and I were left all alone with our cavalry a profound sadness seized both of us. We both were staring at each other, silent and completely exhausted. The village was vacated of all men, leaving behind only a few women and children. We both were tongue-tied. There was no strength left in either of us to utter a word.

How many heroes, especially from the youth of our village, inspired by our exhortations, had hurled themselves into the jaws of death to liberate our worshipful land and our gallant people from the tyranny of the Bolsheviks! And now, after so much sacrifice and struggle, the same vile and immoral power had come back to reenslave us, and in a few moments his foul and filthy foot would again implant itself on the sacred soil of our worshipful birth place, the heroic village of Bashkiarni.

What human heart could stand before such an awful and insuperable mournful sorrow? What would think, especially our comrade warriors, the approximately one thousand heroes of Bashkiarni who, during the entire course of the struggle, heeded the calls of Khunko and Artoush and myself without a murmur, and having abandoned their homes, their wives and their children, hurled themselves on the various fronts of the battle line for the realization of the Armenian dream of a free, united and independent homeland. And now our shrunken hearts had to reconcile themselves with the tragedy of parting with our fighting unit, and we were to depart from our worshipful Bashkiarni.

A little while later, however, to cool off our swollen indignation, I summoned Aramayis Khontkarian who was familiar with

the Russian language, and dictated the following letter to be posted at the entrance to my Office:

"To the High Command of the Bashkiarni Front of the Russian Army.

"I am leaving my worshipful fatherland and my equally worshipful birthplace, heroic Bashkiarni, without having been defeated, but simply in order to spare it the ravages of destruction. Your regime, with its disastrous policy, once drove the Armenian people to rebellion. I live to hope that you will not blindly resume the same destructive policy, and will not be vindictive especially toward the citizens of Bashkiarni who rose against you. With this fond hope I depart from my worshipful birthplace and my fellow townsmen. If you should try to resort anew to your cherished vile vengeance, I will return again and my vengeance shall be unprecedented in its terribleness.

Company Commander
Martiros of Bashkiarni

April 7, 1921,
Bashkiarni

Having posted this letter to the door of my office, Khunko and I gazed at our worshipful birthtown for the last time, we both knelt down before our cavalry troops and kissed the sacred soil of our birthplace, shed two tear drops from our blood-shot and swollen eyes, and mounting our horses we left Bashkiarni.

When we arrived at the desolate Turkish Village of Milli-Tari Baiburt, we saw there assembled almost the whole of the villagers of Bashkiarni with their flocks. The notables of the village asked us whether they should continue the retreat or return to their village. I advised them to return to their homes, display a white flag and submit to the newcomers. They took my advice and returned to the village.

As to those of the villagers who were

certain to fall victim of Bolshevik vengeance, we continued on our way as a rearguard of the fleeing people.

We arrived at Taralakiaz and stopped at a ruined Turkish village called Neshit. Here I received an order from Kouro to send a cavalry force of one hundred under the command of Khunko to Chanakhchi. The rest of the forces I was to lead to Ghoytour. Here I found Coronet Navasardian's company of one hundred. I also received word from Khunko that the enemy was advancing toward Chanakhchi and that he was awaiting my instructions.

I wrote to Kouro at Keshishkiant and was answered by Yabon who had been appointed commander-in-chief of the whole of Taralakiaz. Yabon ordered me to fall back on Khoytour and the heights on the left of the River Keshishkiant. I carried out

these instructions. Yabon also revealed that he had decided to abandon Taralakiaz. On April 10 we received the order for a general retreat. At 4 o'clock in the night Kunko and I came out with our cavalry unit.

Near Malishka we caught up with our refugees, we posted patrol guards and stopped there to allow the refugees to retire. At Malishka we fed our horses and had a small repast. Few of the villagers had abandoned the village. We then departed for Kundevaz.

The people were assembled at the banks of the Arpacha River. The river had flooded and we helped the villagers to make the crossing. I surrendered my fighting unit to the authorities of Karabagh and went to Meghri to rejoin Rouben.

THE END

BOOKS & AUTHORS

Law For the Public Speaker by Dr. George P. Rice, Jr., Christopher Publishing House, Boston.

JAMES G. MANDALIAN

The power which is wielded over the minds of men by the efficient handling of articulate speech, either in the interests of the good or the bad, is perhaps best illustrated by the impassioned speeches of two classical orators — Demosthenes, and Mark Anthony.

Demosthenes made a valiant effort in the interests of patriotism and failed; Mark Anthony was a rabble rouser who, on that fatal Ides of March, walked out of the Roman forum with flying colors. Demosthenes used the power of his speech to save the independence of Greece against Phillip of Macedon; Mark Anthony exploited a highly deteriorated political situation to his personal advantage by a skillful appeal to the lowest instincts of the rabble. Although the wisdom of the particular method of Brutus and his sympathizers, even if driven by the purest of patriotic motives, shall ever remain a moot question, no one, on the other hand, will ever venture to defend the atrocious abuse of the power of speech which was exhibited by Mark Anthony that day over the riddled body of Julius Caesar. Demogogy rallied the Roman rabble to destroy the "conspirators," but it failed to save the republic just the same.

The secret of the power of speech was early discovered by the ancients, long before civilization had made its debut. Tribal

chiefs addressed their clans on critical occasions when the fate of the clan lay in the balance, when questions of war or peace had to be decided, and it will be observed that as civilization made its advance, on the eve of decisive battles, the commanders of the armies made use of the power of speech as a weapon to bolster the morale of their soldiers. Alexander the Great, Hannibal, and in the earlier stages of his career Napoleon invariably addressed their soldiers before a battle. With the growth of civilization, speech has been utilized to win influence and public opinion. It is a highly significant fact that today, in an age when mankind has developed the most lethal weapons of destruction, in the fierce ideological and political contest between East and West, considerable attention is being paid to the efficacy of speech as seen in the mad propaganda rivalry over, during and outside of summit conferences.

The universal assumption is that speech ought to be free. A man should say what he wishes, as he pleases, and how he pleases, without any restraints. It is discovered, however, that when this happens, painful incursions are made into the personal domain, for, in addition to enlightening and exhorting the audience, speech might also offend. One cannot, for instance, insult another or lie or slander without creating conflict. The conclusion is that one cannot always speak what he pleases, as he pleases, and how he pleases. There

should be restraints on speech, much the same as we have restraints on our action, even if we live in a free society.

Dr. Rice, the author of this work, has best defined both the problem and the purpose for the promotion of civilized speech: "Better speaking, better listening, better citizenship in the Republic." The ultimate aim of civilized speech should be enlightenment, spiritual refinement, and the promotion of a better society.

What is the fundamental aim of free speech? What are the advantages of free speech? When is speech not an absolute right? What are the countless situations which involve interplay of free legal speech? What are the origins of free speech? What is the domain of free speech speech? What is the domination of free What are legal restraints and what is their origin? What is the line of demarcation between the rights of the speaker, the audience, and the society?

These and a host of affiliated questions are assailed, analyzed and expounded critically and exhaustively in this work, with a painstaking labor, objectivity and scholarly precision which compels our admiration.

The search for the eternal truth, the expression of the truth, and the interests of the public at large are the paramount concern of free speech! This definition of free speech is controlled, however, by the idealistic or ethical standards of morality. Fundamentally, and apart from moral considerations, free speech aims to influence, to impress, to win over kindred thinking. Idealistically, free speech aims to expose corruption, the lie and the evil. When free speech is corrupted either by internal degeneracy or by external violence, threat or intimidation, an attempt must be made to remove the causes of corruption, either

by internal regeneration or by external restraint.

Dr. Rice psychoanalyzes the anatomy of free speech and brings to light exhilarating colors of the spectrum, affecting spiritual values and advantages which are not immediately visible to the naked eye. Stimulation of the mind and the soul, the quest of the truth, release of tensions, mental and spiritual relaxation, vigor of thought, faith in self and corrective efficiency are some of the subjective forces which are released by self-expression.

The basic belief that truth, if given an opportunity for fair hearing in a free market-place of public opinion, will prevail is, in the opinion of Dr. Rice, the motive power which propels all honest self-expression.

Within the compass of approximately 180 pages, Dr. Rice has succeeded in amassing, correlating and digesting an amazing amount of research study which traces all aspects of free speech from the times of the Greeks and the Romans to our Twentieth Century William Jennings Bryans and Winston Churchills, embracing the origins, the development, the jurisprudence, the legal complexities, the ethics of the restraints, the jurisdiction of the individual and society, the criterions of violation of both the ethics and the law, the protection of the individual against society and vice versa, the fine distinctions between persuasion and incitement, the questions of "due process," the 14th amendment and the right to silence as provided by the Fifth Amendment, the Immunity Act, the criterion of "clear and present danger," the role and the power of the Supreme Court of the United States, property rights, the role of speech in jury trials, the correlation between free speech and mechanical inventions, the question of public nuisance, the delicate problem of preserving a maximum of liberty and at the same time to guard

that liberty against those who would abuse that liberty in their effort to destroy it, — a monumental labor which has been accomplished with remarkable attention to scholarly correlation, coordination and organization enabling the reader to have a clear and comprehensive grasp of a subject which otherwise would have taken countless hours of arduous labor.

In the treatment of his subject, Dr. Rice draws heavily from federal and state statutes, municipal ordinances, legal dicta and the decisions of the Supreme Court. On his chapter "The Classics and the Bible in English Eloquence" alone he critically examined more than 100 deliberative, forensic and panegyric addresses and he ran his own census on the restraining influences on free speech and a comparison of the American and Communistic ideologies in a questionnaire which was addressed to thousands of College and High School students. And yet, in not a single instance he can be accused of influencing or imposing his thinking on the reader. He always speaks in terms of facts and dicta, leaving the reader to draw his own conclusions, and in doing so he leaves the reader vastly informed. In this respect his impartiality is absolutely unreproachable.

Nevertheless, it cannot be contended that Dr. Rice does not possess his definite convictions in matters which affect the best interests of society. This is best brought to light in his chapter "The Teacher and Political Morality" in which he discusses the delicate matter of Communism versus democracy with a rare discernment and a soundness of judgment which elevate him to the status of true statesmanship. His analysis of the apparent failure of the democratic effort and the commensurately sensational but spurious fanfare of the champions of Communism is so eloquent that I

take the liberty of quoting his initial passages::

"Our newspapers tell us that at this moment a score of nations stir angrily at the behest of conflicting ideologies. Instruments of democracy, well supplied with cash and good intentions, have sustained serious defeats in Europe, Asia, and Africa at the hands of a militant communism. Since 1945 tens of millions of the inhabitants of Europe and Asia have accepted the Hammer and Sickle, while we in the democracies have in general failed to inculcate in these people an appreciation of and desire for the liberties we hold best for the progress of the world society and the dignity of the human being."

This is an angle, both enigmatic and baffling which, to my knowledge, no American public has as yet seriously assailed. Here we seem to possess all the assets, while the Communists have all the liabilities, and yet, in our contest over the world opinion we have come out second best every time. We have on our side a rich tradition; the Soviets have nothing; we stand for liberty and justice, the Soviets stand for tyranny and injustice; we have granted independence to struggling peoples, the Soviets have enslaved a host of onetime free and independent peoples; we have spread our largesse over the world, in the form of aid and charity, the Soviets have robbed their people and their hands are stained with the blood of the innocents; we offer mankind truth and love and justice and liberty and equality, the Soviets bring slavery, degradation and degeneracy. And yet, in the contest for the sale of the best products we always seem to be on the losing side while the Soviets carry all the accolades. What is the secret of this enigma?

Something somewhere is obviously wrong and Dr. Rice puts the finger on the sore spot when he reminds us that we have

grown too smug, too complacent, and too self contented, we have failed in our education and we have failed in our mission. We have taken our riches for granted.

If the entire rest of Dr Rice's this work were worthless (which in truth is the exact opposite), this chapter on our teachers and political morality alone, it is safe to say, is more than worth the price of the book.

The Armenian Review is indeed proud to note here that Dr. Rice Jr., the author of this work, a master of public speaking and a meticulous and brilliant scholar, is a member of our editorial staff, having contributed to it regularly ever since the first years of its founding. Most of the chapters included in this book have appeared in the

Armenian Review as serial articles, a fact which he graciously has acknowledged in his book and in his generosity he has even made us know that we should not hesitate to claim our due credit.

"Law For The Public Speaker" is an attractive work, first quality paper and print, and is profusely supported by corroborative footnotes and bibliographical sources. In the words of the publishers it is a unique and useful contribution to our literature, "designed to guide speakers of all sorts and everywhere who are untrained in law, but basically college teachers of public speaking and their students, who desire to participate in free but responsible meeting and talking in public as a basic right of citizenship."



**STATEMENT OF THE OWNERSHIP, MANAGEMENT, CIRCULATION, ETC. REQUIRED BY THE ACT OF CONGRESS
OF AUGUST 24, 1912**

OF ARMENIAN REVIEW

Boston, Massachusetts, Oct. 3, 1958

Before me, a Notary Public in and for the State and county aforesaid personally appeared Mugurditch Der Avedisian, who, having been duly sworn according to law, deposes and says that he is the BUSINESS MANAGER of the ARMENIAN REVIEW and that the following is, to the best of his knowledge and belief, a true statement of the aforesaid publication for the date shown in section 411 Postal Laws and Regulations, printed on the reverse of this form, to wit:

1. That the names and addresses of the publisher, editor, managing editor, and business managers are:

Publisher—Hairenik Association, Inc. 212 Stuart Street, Boston, Mass.

Editor—R. Darbian 212 Stuart Street, Boston, Mass.

Managing Editor—R. Darbian 212 Stuart Street, Boston, Mass.

Business Manager—Mugurditch Der Avedisian 212 Stuart Street, Boston, Mass.

2. That the owner is:

Hairenik Association, Inc.

Pres.— John D. Hovanesian

Sec.—Beglar Navassardian

Treas.—Hrach Tarbassian

3. That the known bondholders, mortgagees, and other security holders owning or holding 1 per cent or more of total amount of bonds, mortgages, or other securities are: (None).

This corporation has no stockholders or bondholders.

4. That the two paragraphs next above, giving the names of the owners stockholders, and security holders, if any, contain not only the list of stockholders and security holders as they appear upon the books of the company but also, in cases where the stockholder or security holder appears upon the books of the company as trustee or in any other fiduciary relation, the name of the person or corporation for whom such trustee is acting, is given; also that the said two paragraphs contain statements embracing affiant's full knowledge and belief as to the circumstances and conditions under which stockholders and security holders who do not appear upon the books of the company as trustees, hold stock and securities in a capacity other than that of a bona fide owner; and this affiant has no reason to believe that any other person, association, or corporation has any interest direct or indirect in the said stock, bonds, or other securities than as so stated by him.

Business Manager — MUGURDITCH DER AVEDISIAN

Sworn to and subscribed before me this 3rd day of October 1958.

SARKIS CHUTCHIAN

Seal

(Notary Public)

(My commission expires Sept. 24, 1959)

